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THE RIVER OF GEN-NIS-HE-YO—"THE BEAUTIFUL VALLEY."

Go, tourist, where the Genesee
Takes rise among the southern hills;
And, swollen by a thousand rills,
Flows on, at last unclogged and free.

Go, tourist, where the Genesee
In falling shakes the solid land
Cam, Avon, Tevoit, and Dee,
Roll not through scenes more truly grand.

—*Bard of Avon, N. Y.*

MORE than two hundred years ago the Senecas, as the western and most powerful tribe of the Iroquois confederacy, kept the gate that led to the Mississippi while the Mohawks kept the eastern gate that led to the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic. Springing forth from the ground at the head of Canandaigua and, like Minerva, full-armed, the Senecas, "the great hill people," became the leaders in every desperate venture. From their "long house" at Caneadea started forth the bands that attacked the Wyoming valley and made their name a terror from Quebec to Manhattan and to the banks of the Mississippi.

They laughed at Champlain; and when Denonville thought he had annihilated them they continued to hunt all about his army as usual; bestowed the name of "The Hater" upon the governor of New France, and refused all the later blandishments of Vaudreuil, Beauharnois, and the French interpreters who came to their country. They treated with contempt the efforts made at Whitehall, and elsewhere, to carve their territory into slices; drove out Governor Dongan, and only consented to place their territory under the care of the English when they saw that the Algonquins had joined the French and that the latter were trying to limit the Anglo-Saxons to the Atlantic slope. The friendship of the Iroquois thus gave the continent to the English.

The more interesting portion of the Senecas' lands was afterward known to the white settlers as "the Genesee country," a tract lying across the state of

New York and extending forty miles to the west of the meridian of Washington. The southern half of this tract is drained by the Conansque, the Conhocton and the Canisteo—head waters of the Chemung, which joins the Susquehanna just over the Pennsylvania border. Interlacing with the upper rills of the Canisteo are those of Canaseraga creek, chief tributary of the Genesee—the noble stream which rises in Potter county, Pennsylvania, within a few yards of the head waters of the Allegheny and the west branch of the Susquehanna. This sharply defined meeting of the Atlantic, St. Lawrence and Mississippi basins is no more pronounced than are the characteristics of the Susquehanna and Genesee. The former seeks the ocean's level through hundreds of miles, now leaping from cascade to cascade, and then presenting oft-repeated shoals and rifts. The latter, which was known in earlier days as "the little Seneca river," the Niagara being the "Big Seneca river," takes a briefer course and seeks, at the end, only the level of Lake Ontario; but this level is reached by groups of falls at Portage and Rochester, which the Indians called "something alive in the kettle," while the intermediate stretches were known as "Gen-nis-he-yo," or the beautiful valley.

Within this area to day there are more than four hundred thousand people, including the city of Rochester, which contains nearly one hundred thousand souls. Here was once the granary from which were sent all the supplies to the settlements of Ohio and Michigan until they were able to support themselves.

Here to-day is the garden spot of the Empire state. The change has altered the name of Rochester from the "Flour City" of 1835 to the "Flower City" of 1885.

There are large cities and many smaller settlements in the west that have an interest in the settlement of the Genesee country in New York. In fact, the southern strip of the Genesee tract is full of reminiscences of names that afterward became prominent in the settlement of the west.

Canandaigua was long the headquarters for selling the Genesee tract to actual settlers. There lived and died, in the old mansion that exists to-day, Oliver Phelps, "the Cecrops of the Genesee country." Here a sturdy race of pioneers—whose portraits adorn the court house—replaced with their own the "framed houses with chimneys," that Sullivan had destroyed because they were the dwellings of the Senecas. Here dwelt Judge Nathaniel W. Howell and Dr. Moses Atwater and Rev. Philander Chase—afterward bishop of New York—who shocked the brethren by whittling an "ungodly fiddle" out of a shingle. Near by is the town of Manchester, where Joe Smith, the Mormon prophet, declared he found the golden plates that proved to be the Mormon bible; and just over the border, in Wayne county, are Palmyra, where Smith's bible was printed, and Lyons—*fac simile* of its French namesake—in the midst of peppermint meadows and orchards, famed for the quality and quantity of their apples.

But more interesting than all, upon

the flats of Victor is the spot where Denonville thought he had conquered the Iroquois for the French king. At the outlet of Honeoye lake is the battleground where the Eries met their destruction at the hands of the Five Nations, nearly three hundred years ago. The Eries had long been jealous of the increasing power of the Confederacy, and they resolved to conquer it in detail. Their march against the Senecas was reported to the Confederacy by a fugitive squaw, and when the Eries met their foe they did not meet the Senecas alone. A thousand young warriors of the Iroquois waited in ambush until the Eries were exhausted, and then they sealed their doom forever. It was the finishing stroke that left the Iroquois the Romans of the New World, long before the arrival of the white man.

Back among the higher waters of the Genesee are the three falls, at Portage, where the face of nature has been changed as if by some great convulsion. The volume of water drops three hundred feet within a distance of two miles, and on either side the banks tower upward to the height of four hundred feet in many places. Just above the upper, or "Horse Shoe" fall, there was formerly, according to geologists, a dam which set the water back upon the flats of the uplands. This dam wore away long ago, and the power of hydrodynamics is shown first in the upper fall of seventy feet, then half a mile beyond, in the middle fall of one hundred and ten feet, with its curiously hollowed "Devil's Oven," and lastly, after innumerable windings and short plunges for

two miles, in the "lower falls," which hang reluctant and jumping from one crag to another, hurl themselves through a chasm scarcely a rod wide, until they are broken against the angles of an out-jutting ledge and seek the tranquil pool below in the sheer weariness of despair. From the railway bridge that spans the gorge above the upper fall—like a spider's web—one may look down the cataract and along the half-moon course of the river until it disappears over the brink of the middle fall. The left bank is full of beauty and verdure. In the centre of this vale of loveliness stands Glen Iris, the residence of Hon. William P. Letchworth, a name that is well known to many an object of charity and suffering humanity in the state of New York. The lawn slopes from the house close to the borders of the middle fall—the Mona-sha-sha of the Senecas—over which the jealous squaw threw herself and her child. Mr. Letchworth is certainly the one of whom the poet speaks:

"Who in the love of nature
Holds communion with her visible forms."

This strip of seven hundred acres covers the three-mile space from above the upper fall to a point below the lower fall. While his own territory is a spot of beauty, he is obliged to gaze upon the wide gashes and unsightly benches left in the opposite bank by the felling of trees, and by the cutting of a canal—now superseded by a railway. Some equally good genius of the place ought to match Mr. Letchworth's generosity, and restore to nature what was once her own by planting vines and allowing the

work of destruction to proceed no further.

There are historical associations of great interest that gather about the shades of Glen Iris. A little knoll to the northward contains the grave of Mary Jemison—"the white woman of the Genesee," who was the connecting link between the life of the savage and the entry of civilization into the valley. The life of this white captive spanned the years between 1742 and 1833. Born of Scotch parentage upon the sea, captured when only ten years old, and set adrift with all the tender admonitions of a mother who knew that the tomahawk would be her own fate within an hour, and carried to the wilds of Ohio by a party of Shawnees, there was something sadly appropriate in the name given to her by the two squaws who took her in place of a lost brother—*De-ge-wa-nus* or the "Two Falling Voices." This name is forever in a waterfall that seeks the Genesee within the limits of Glen Iris, and offers its mournful cadence in sympathy with the "white woman's" story. In the wilds she married a Delaware chief, and even then she looked with longing eyes upon the white people in the fort. But her Indian alliance was too strong, and when she trudged all the way to the Seneca's country she had become a full Indian. As such she dwelt in the valley of the Genesee for seventy years, having as a husband Gardeau, one of Little Beard's trusted chiefs. She was in her prime during the Revolution. Sullivan drove her and her people to Niagara, but she soon returned and earned her bread by husk-

ing corn for two negroes. At the treaty of "Big Tree" the Senecas would not yield possession to the whites until they had reserved for her use nineteen thousand acres of fertile land. Twenty-five years later she sold all but two square miles. At last she sold even that, and joined her people on the Buffalo Creek reservation, where she died. Hither to Glen Iris were brought her mortal remains after many years, and here they repose in a spot whose history cannot be narrated without frequent mention of her name and her influence for the cause of humanity. It is unfortunate that no accurate portrait of her is in existence. But we read that there was a power in her short, lithe figure, and in her light blue eyes, as they peeped from under her eyebrows, that is not often given to her sisters of a whiter skin.

Not far to the eastward of Canandaigua is the quaint village of Geneva—its long street of brick residences with flat-arched windows and small, round-topped doors with brass knockers, giving it an unmistakable New England air, although it was intended to rival its namesake in Switzerland. Nowhere else in western New York will the traveler find so many evidences of an early settlement as in Geneva, the Kan-a-de-sa-ga of the Senecas, which Sullivan destroyed after leaving the battlefield of Newtown and before he turned westward to destroy the Indian settlements in the Genesee valley. This was the spot where Brant and Butler paused to divide the spoils after the massacre at Cherry valley, and whither many a captive had been brought for torture. There

is no trace of the castle of the Senecas which stood near the village; but the elm under which many a council has been held is still flourishing. Here Kirkland struggled for the souls of the red men; while at the same time, we learn that "a person from Scotland has established at Geneva a very respectable brewery which promises to destroy the baneful use of spirituous liquors." Here James Reese, the friend of Washington and Morris, became a pioneer and fought the efforts of the "lessees" to break the treaty under which Phelps held his title. For many years Geneva was larger than either Rochester or Buffalo. It was on the most direct line between the east and the west, and its trade in grain and provisions was so large as to make it the metropolis of all that region.

When Sullivan's soldiers entered the Genesee country they were amazed at the huge crops of corn that the Senecas were ready to harvest for the Iroquois confederacy. After the conquest many of the soldiers occupied tracts and commenced to develop the remarkable properties of the soil for agricultural purposes of all kinds. They found outlets in every direction, owing to the proximity of all the largest watersheds in the country. Massachusetts had a claim upon this tract, but she gave up to New York all to the westward of the meridian that ran through the eighty-second mile stone on the Pennsylvania line. This line was known as the "preemption line" because Massachusetts gave to Oliver Phelps and Daniel Gorham the preëptive right to the territory from the

line as far to the westward as a line drawn north and south through the "big tree" of treaty fame, at Genesee. The tract thus bounded on the east and west; on the north by Lake Ontario and on the south by Pennsylvania, was henceforth known as the "Genesee country." The Indians were partially persuaded to give their consent by Rev. Samuel Kirkland; but they did not give their full consent for several years, and even then it was some time before the forts at Oswego and Niagara were evacuated by the British troops. This uncertainty of sovereignty gave an opportunity for Butler and Brant to carry on a war of titles under the name of "lessees"—a movement that caused much trouble to Phelps and Gorham. While matters were in this unsettled state, the brothers James and William Wadsworth settled in Genesee and began to develop that part of the Genesee valley that has made their names so well known in all parts of the United States.

Phelps and Gorham, finding the Genesee tract too much for them to handle, sold two-thirds of their purchase to Robert Morris, the guardian of the money-chest that furnished the sinews of the Revolutionary war. Phelps then appeared as the heaviest subscriber and the chairman of the directors of the Connecticut Land company, which secured that part of northern Ohio known as "the Western Reserve." The same surveyors, also, who staked out the Genesee country used their theodolites and levels in the "New Connecticut"—an interesting fact that foreshadowed a similarity in the men who settled the

two localities, and also in the types of civilization that they represented. Robert Morris also acquired of Massachusetts the lands west of the Genesee, so far as having the first right to extinguish the Indian titles was concerned. In this venture he was not so fortunate as Phelps and Gorham, for there were long and strange delays in the Indians giving their consent. His financial obligations crowded him faster than he could realize. His hasty and almost entire sale of the whole tract to Sir William Pultney and Governor Hornby did not save him. In vain he waited to make good the release of the Indians, which he had guaranteed; and finally, returning to the east, he died in a debtor's prison, after being in such straits as to beg his friends to pay the postage on letters that were written to him.

The tract between Seneca lake and Keuka, or Crooked lake, is noted for its grain, while the hills are covered with grapes that make the wines of this region celebrated the country over. The physical beauties of the Seneca slope have been immortalized in Watkins Glen, but the barbarities practised on the former site of Catharine's town, under Catharine Montour, "the Queen Esther of the Six Nations," and the cruel directress of the Wyoming massacre, led to the more smooth-sounding title of Havana. The northern end of Crooked lake was settled by Friends under James Parker. Following close upon their heels came a troop of Yankees, who settled at the other end of the town. Hence the shiretown of Yates county is called "Penn-Yan." In those early days Je-

mima Wilkinson, a Quaker preacher of great power, settled in the town of Dresden. Her residence was the first frame house in all the Genesee country, and she was known as the "Universal Friend." This remarkable character, with a tall and stout figure, and black and short curly hair, could neither read nor write; and yet she made her followers believe that "the Lord had need of" the half or the whole of the slaughtered animal, according to the vagaries of her appetite. So great is the veneration still shown her that her chaise is annually exhibited at the county fairs.

The whole population of the Genesee tract in 1790 was one thousand, of which there were less than three hundred women, two free negroes and eleven slaves; but in 1793 the number had risen to seven thousand. Under this impulse the legislature abolished taxes hereabout for a term of years; allowed aliens to hold real property, and finally permitted immigrants from Virginia and Maryland to hire out their slaves to their neighbors, provided at the end of seven years the slaves should be freed. With these and many other inducements the country developed rapidly. Further treaties with the Indians resulted in their restriction to their several reservations. Saw-mills and grist-mills sprang up as if by magic. Small knots of settlers gathered at Friends' settlement (Penn-Yan), Geneva, Culverstown (Watkins), Catharinestown (Havana), and Newtown (Elmira). The legislature opened a state road, one hundred miles long, from Fort Schuyler

(Utica) to Geneva. Another road was cut from Williamsburgh, near Geneva, one hundred and seventy miles across the Alleghany mountains to the mouth of the Lycoming creek, in Pennsylvania. Where this road crossed Conhocton creek, Bath was settled. Weekly markets were soon held here, as well as at Geneva and Canandaigua. Immigrants came from the south by this route to meet the New Englanders at the north. The route down the Genesee to Lake Ontario and thence to Albany was discovered to be cheaper than by way of Geneva. The exports to Canada were beef and salt. The freight on wheat to Philadelphia was one shilling a bushel; the return freight on dry goods was eight shillings per hundred weight. Down the Susquehanna were sent also rafts of hickory, oak and walnut, and cattle were driven overland to Albany, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. All this development took place before the country had been settled a dozen years. Even so late as 1793 flour and pork were sent hither from Philadelphia. In 1801 the prices of the home markets ruled as follows: Wheat, 50c@\$.1.00; corn, 37@50c.; rye, 52@52c.; hay, \$5; butter, 10c.; pork, 4c.; whisky, 50c. per gallon; suit of clothes, \$4; shoes, \$1.75; day laborer, \$10 and \$15 with board. One discouraged settler, however, wrote: "It will take the produce of one acre to buy a pair of breeches."

The story of the Genesee valley has been briefly told. Were the results simply the triumphs of agriculture, the cause would not be far to seek in the rare fertility of the soil and the exceptional tendencies of the climate for a latitude so far north. But when, with the achievements of the ground, the Genesee country has given within seventy years to science, a Swift; to journalism, a Weed; to the bench and bar, a Matthews, a Spencer, a Howell, a Selden and a Gardnier; to the cause of humanity, a Barton and a Letchworth; to the gubernatorial chair of New York, a Hunt and a Seward; and to religion, the beginnings of even Mormonism and Spiritualism, there must be some other cause than the mere advantage which nature gave to this locality over other localities. And yet the Genesee valley was considered such a horrible place that the following was included as a part of the obligation which a master undertook toward his apprentice, at Albany, in 1796:

Likewise to give him four quarters night schooling and teach him to draw the five orders of architecture, mensuration and geometry, and at the expiration of five years, four months and twenty-six days give him two good suits of clothes, the one suitable for Sunday apparel, and the other for working clothes, and bind myself not to take him to the Genesee country.

FREDERICK G. MATHER.

Albany, N. Y.

AMASA STONE.

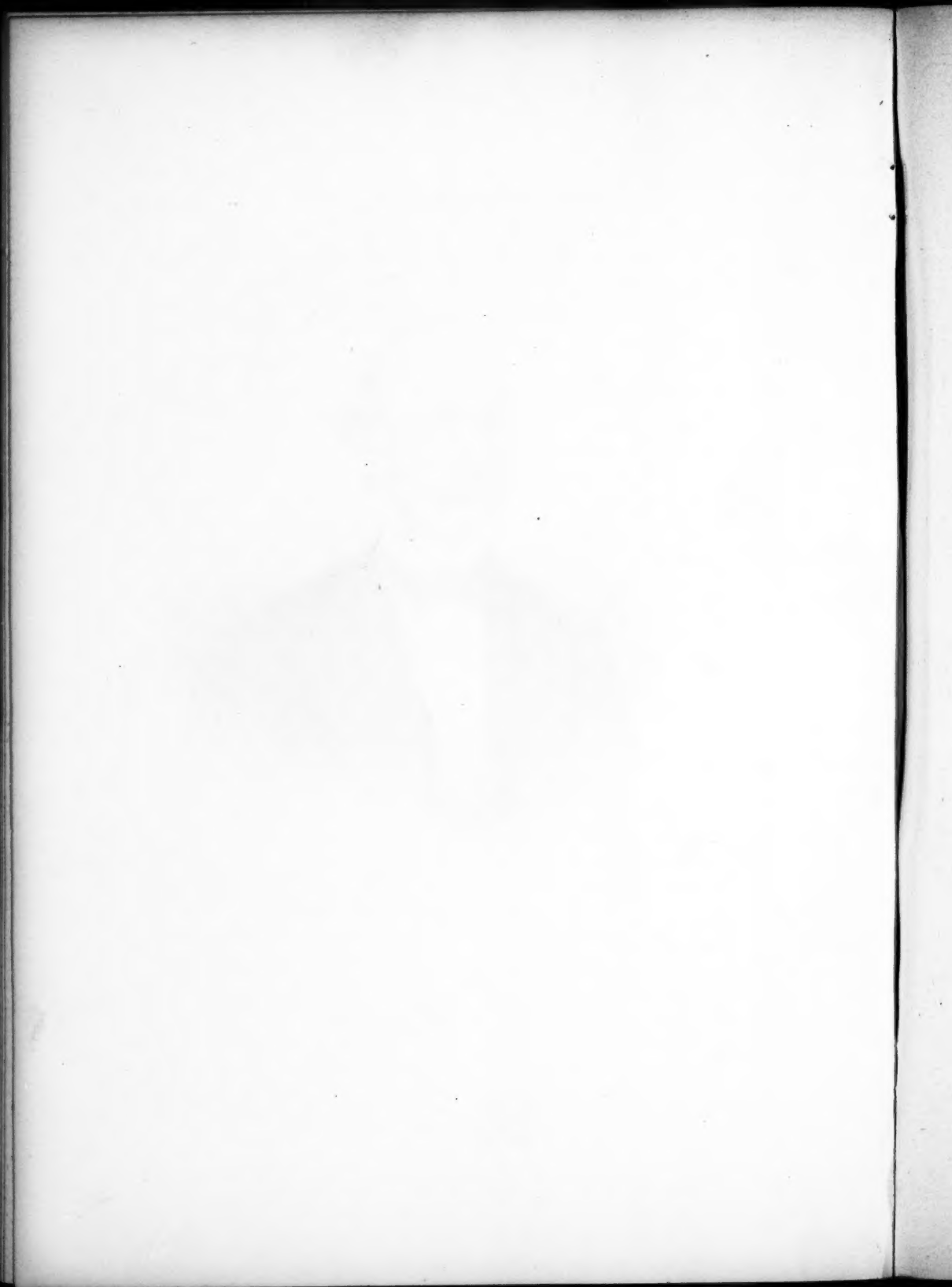
THE late Amasa Stone was born in Charlton, Massachusetts, April 27, 1818, and died in Cleveland May 11, 1883. He was descended in the seventh generation from Gregory Stone, an English yeoman from Kent, who sailed to this country from Ipswich on the ship *Increase* in the year 1635. His father, Amasa Stone, senior, died a few years ago in Charlton, Massachusetts, at the great age of ninety-six years. Mr. Stone led in his youth the life of most New England boys, assisting his father in the care of his farm for part of the year and attending school the rest of the time; but he showed even at that early age too much of the energy and enterprise which distinguished his maturity to remain content with the narrow circle of a Massachusetts farmstead, and when only seventeen years of age he left the paternal roof and engaged in business with an older brother, who was then carrying on the trade of a builder in Worcester. The stalwart lad went rapidly through his apprenticeship, and before he attained his majority was superintending the building of houses and churches. In 1839, being then twenty-one years of age, he was associated with his brother-in-law, Mr. Howe, the inventor and patentee of the famous "Howe Truss Bridge," in the construction of a bridge across the Connecticut river at Springfield, Massa-

chusetts, and a year or two later he and Mr. Azariah Boody purchased from Mr. Howe his bridge patent for the New England states, and formed a company for the construction of railroads and railroad bridges. In 1845 Mr. Stone assumed the duties of superintendent of the New Haven, Hartford & Springfield railroad, but was not able to retain this position for a great while, as his rapidly extending construction business soon began to occupy all his time and attention. He made important improvements in the Howe bridge, and became known while yet a young man as the most eminent constructor in New England. In 1846 the bridge over the Connecticut river at Enfield Falls, which was a quarter of a mile long, was carried away by a storm. The traffic over the New Haven, Hartford & Springfield railroad at that point was very great, and every hour of time which could be saved in the reconstruction of the bridge was of great value to the company. Its officers sent at once for Mr. Stone and consulted as to the best method of rebuilding the bridge and the time that would be required for it. He thought that by pushing the work with the greatest energy the bridge could be rebuilt in a substantial and satisfactory manner in forty days. They placed the entire work in his hands, and inside of forty days the bridge was completed and



Engr. by J. Rogers

A. Stone



trains were crossing it. The company, equally pleased and surprised with this prompt dispatch of the work, adopted resolutions highly complimentary to the young builder and gave him a check of a thousand dollars outside of his contract. Soon after this Mr. Stone dissolved partnership with Mr. Boody and formed another firm with Mr. D. L. Harris, for Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and still another with Mr. Stillman Witt and Mr. Frederick Harbach for the construction of the Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad from Cleveland to Columbus. This was an enterprise of the greatest magnitude and reflected equal credit on the ability and the courage of the contractors, as a great part of the payment made to them was in the capital stock of the company, which was at the time of very doubtful value. But their sagacity proved to be equal to their courage, and the stock became extremely valuable as soon as the road was completed. In this case, as in most others where Mr. Stone was employed as a contractor of great public works, he made such an impression of integrity and capacity upon the owners that he was offered the superintendency of the road. He accepted it in 1850, and thereafter made his home in Cleveland. He immediately assumed another most important task in the construction of a railroad from Cleveland to Erie, a difficult and harrassing task, which was nevertheless accomplished with the most brilliant success. On the completion of the road Mr. Stone was appointed also its superintendent. He remained for some years superintend-

ent of both the roads mentioned as well a director in the companies which owned them. He was also for a long time president of the Cleveland, Painesville & Ashtabula railroad, and in 1858, in company with his partner and lifelong friend Stillman Witt, he contracted to build the Chicago & Milwaukee railroad, of which he became and remained for many years a prominent director. He was also a director of the Jamestown & Franklin, and of the Tuscarawas Valley, now the Cleveland, Lorain & Wheeling railroad, and of several others.

As we look over the records of those busy and fruitful years there seems to be no limit to the activity of Mr. Stone. He was not only one of the most prominent and successful railway contractors and administrators in the United States, but there was not a single department of financial or industrial enterprise in which he did not seem to bear a conspicuous and most useful part. He was one of the leading bankers of the state of Ohio—a director in the Merchants' bank, the Bank of Commerce, the Second National bank, the Commercial National bank and the Cleveland Banking company, all of the city of Cleveland. He was president of the Toledo branch of the State Bank of Ohio, and president of the Mercer Iron and Coal company. He also gave financial aid and wise and sagacious counsel to many manufacturing enterprises. He constructed iron mills, woolen mills, car works and other manufacturing establishments. He designed and built the union passenger depot at Cleveland. He was, we believe, the

first man to design and build pivot bridges of long span, and he was constantly introducing important improvements in the construction of railway cars, locomotives, and all the appliances of the great transportation system of the country. During the war for the Union Mr. Stone was an ardent and active supporter of the administration of Mr. Lincoln, of whom he was a trusted friend and counselor. The President frequently sent for him to come to Washington to advise him in the most important problems of supply and transportation of the army. He tendered him an appointment as brigadier-general, for the purpose of superintending the construction of a military railway from Kentucky to Knoxville, Tennessee, a project which was on Mr. Stone's advice afterwards relinquished by the government.

In these multifarious occupations, in which he used himself with unsparing energy and industry, his health became somewhat impaired, and soon after the war closed he met with a great misfortune in the death of his only son, Adelbert Barnes Stone, a youth of the most amiable character and the highest promise, who was drowned while bathing in the Connecticut river, being at the time a student of Yale college. In the hope of some benefit to his shattered health, he sailed to Europe with his family in 1868, and spent thirteen months abroad in travel and in a close and intelligent observation of public works and other material interests in Europe, the fruits of which were frequently seen in his enterprises after his return. In 1873, at

the earnest solicitation of Commodore Vanderbilt and other large stockholders of the Lake Shore road, he assumed charge of that road as managing director, but two years afterwards resigned it, and from that time onward steadily declined any position involving great labor or responsibility. But his mind was too active to rest in indolence, and his energies, which had all his life been mainly devoted to the material prosperity of the community in which he lived, was now turned in the direction of its moral and mental improvement. He had for many years been planning in his mind a series of important benefactions to the city of Cleveland, and he now devoted his leisure to carrying them successively into effect. He first built and endowed the Home for Aged Women on Kennard street, a beautiful and estimable charity, by means of which ladies stricken in years and misfortune find a peaceful refuge for their age. His next work was the construction and presentation to the Children's Aid society of the commodious stone edifice on Detroit street as a place of shelter and instruction for destitute children gathered up by that admirable institution from our streets, and saved from lives of vice and ignorance to be placed in respectable Christian homes. When this work was completed he made ready in his mind for the greatest and most important of his benefactions. On condition that the Western Reserve college at Hudson should remove to Cleveland and assume in its classical department the name of his lost and lamented son, he endowed

it with the munificent sum of half a million dollars, which, at his desire, after his death, was increased by his family to the amount of six hundred thousand dollars. In each of these cases he gave not merely his money, but his constant labor and supervision in all the details of construction and administration. He gave of himself as liberally as of his means.

It would seem superfluous to say anything to citizens of Cleveland in regard to Mr. Stone's personal traits of character, but as this Magazine will be read by many who have never met him, a word on this subject may not be out of place. The impression which he made upon everyone who came in contact with him was of absolute personal integrity. So impossible was it for him to deviate by the breadth of a hair from the strict line of veracity that, although he was one of the most courteous and kindly of men in his personal intercourse, his strict adherence to truth and accuracy was irritating to those who were not equally rigid in such matters. He could not pay a compliment which involved a deviation from fact. He was so truthful that it was difficult for him to understand that any man could be anything else; and after sixty years of constant experience with every class of mankind, it was still easy for a plausible liar to deceive him. This, however, could never happen but once with the same person, and there was something weighty in his indignation when roused by any act of meanness or falsehood.

In his youth and early manhood he was possessed of unusual physical and

mental powers. It was his custom to wake up in the night, after a short sleep, and lying in bed, to pass several hours of the time he should have given to slumber in what he called the "head-work" of his enterprises, in the solution of knotty arithmetical and mechanical problems occurring in the course of his business. At last, becoming aware that the habit was not a wholesome one, he gave it up, and by sheer force of will compelled himself to take an adequate amount of repose. With the perfect health and strong nerves of youth this was possible; but the time came when sleep would not approach at his bidding, and in his later years insomnia brought on a severe penalty for former overwork.

He had a mind remarkable for its grasp both of great and minute matters. In discussing the construction of a railroad he could compute, without putting pencil to paper, the probable expenses of engineering and equipment, amounting to millions; and he was equally ready in the smallest things. I was with him one day when he was buying a wedding present for a young friend. Holding in his hands a massive piece of silverware, he asked the price, and as soon as it was given he rejoined: "That is (so much) for the silver and (so much) for the work." The astonished silversmith admitted that this rapid calculation was correct.

He remained to the end of his days one of the simplest and most unassuming of men. This does not mean that there was anything of diffidence or distrust in his nature; on the contrary, he was perfectly aware of his own powers

and confident in the exercise of them. But he never lost the inherent American democracy of his character; the puddler from the rolling-mill, the brakeman of the railroad, was always as sure of a courteous and considerate hearing from him as a senator or a millionaire. There was no man in the country great enough to daunt him, and none so simple as to receive from him the treatment of an inferior. He was a man extraordinarily clean in heart, in hand, and in lips. His closest intimates never heard a word from him which might not have

been spoken in the presence of ladies in a drawing room. He hated slander and scandal of every kind; he not only would never share in it, but he would not tolerate it in his presence. His Puritan conscience, which afforded him so high and so rigid a standard of conduct in great affairs, was equally unbending in all the lesser matters of daily concern. Of his domestic life I feel that I have no right to speak in detail in this place. I can simply say what many know, that a better husband, father and friend never lived.

J. H.

B. F. WADE, THE LAWYER.

FRANK WADE, with his brother, was admitted to the bar late in the summer of 1827, at a term of the supreme court, held at Jefferson, the seat of Ashtabula county. That then, as now, was the highest court in the state, and could alone admit applicants to the bar. It was originally an "ambulatory court," always "on the circuit." It had to hold one term in each of the ever increasing number of counties. Two of the three judges constituted a quorum. They exercised the right of reserving cases for a full bench—*court in banco*—the origin of the court as it now exists. The earlier of Hammond's 'Ohio Reports' (first of the state) contain cases decided on the circuit and in *banco*. The judges were paid a thousand dollars a year, were allowed nothing for traveling expenses, and were expected to visit every

county-seat each twelvemonth, and did when accessible. A part of the northwest at times could not be reached.* A history of the early jurisprudence of the state would be in order and interesting. Maugre the meager salaries, Ohio was fortunate in its supreme judges—Pease, Tod, Huntington, Hitchcock, Sherman, Grimkie, Wood, Lane, and others. They established its jurisprudence on very enduring foundations. Few of their cases have been shaken. The court had appellate and jurisdiction in error from the common pleas—the only other court of record. It also had a jury, and might and did try cases of murder directly. The later attempts to relieve suitors by increasing the number of

*Judge Peter Hitchcock used to drive a sorrel horse in a wooden-sprunged, light wagon, painted yellow, annually over the state for many years.

courts is a weak device. It but makes endless the already wearying way of the law.

Admission to the bar was then not a mere matter of form. The examinations were thorough and searching—often conducted by the judges themselves. No standing conundrums were proposed, as "the rule in Shelly's case."* It is said that Frank Wade had never been in a court of record, had never seen a supreme judge, until called to the ordeal of his examination, which we know the Wades successfully passed. There is no profession so uncertain as the law. Of all who study it, twenty per cent. is a fair estimate of those who succeed. Lawyers are grown rather than made. They are never born. No gifts can make a lawyer. It is largely the youth's own work. Will and staying power—years, many of them, are necessary—natural aptitude, talent, genius, are great helps; industry, patience and time will do more. In no other calling can men so little forecast results, and I may say in no other are the final results of the mere lawyer more unsatisfactory. He may sit and contemplate the leathern backs of his two or three thousand law books, and for the rest, innumerable pigeon holes, filled with yellow papers, tokens of work and woes innumerable. These are the reflections of the weary *old lawyer* at the close, not the anticipations of the *young barrister* at the beginning.

Frank Wade was now an attorney and

counselor at law, and solicitor in chancery. He has taken the oath of office, his name recorded on the then small roll of men, some of whom are to be honorably distinguished, and he has the clerk's certificate of the fact bearing the broad seal of the supreme court of the state of Ohio. It was very unusual then for a farmer's boy to attempt to break away, escape to a profession, most of all the law. He was always subjected to criticism more or less sharp. "He feels above farmer's work, he wants to wear broadcloth every day." "He's a lazy chap." "He'll never come to anything," and more of that sort. The law was supposed to open to the fortunately fated an easy road to riches, honor, leisure. The average mind has no conception of the labor of those to whom labor comes, of the wearying soul anguish of those to whom it does not. In Ashtabula at that time, there had been but one or two instances of young men who had studied law. Young Joshua R. Giddings had been admitted in 1821. He was looked upon as a rarely exceptional young man. It was not likely these Wade boys—two of them—would prove to be of the same order. Of the two, less was expected of the more silent, thoughtful elder. So wise is the world. Frank heard that he was talked about when he went off with the drover, and more when he went with Ned to Canfield. All that was past. He was safely at the bar. He felt he had the pith in him. It must now work to the surface and show itself to the world.

The usually perplexing problem with the young lawyer is where to plant him-

*It is one of the curiosities of the older law that while this famous rule is preserved as one of judgment, the case itself is lost, was never reported.

self. He often supposes that somewhere is a place—an opening—yearning for him. He sometimes spends months in looking for it. I never knew one of these young men to find it. They find all the places taken, all the openings filled. In the nature of things, they always are. I like better the answer of the young man who, in reply to the question of a lawyer in a western town, "Are you looking for an opening?" said: "No. I am looking for a place *to make one*." For the Wades there was small choice. They were west. No one thought of going east, and few south. At about the geographical centre of broad Ashtabula was the township of Jefferson. The region was monotonously level. The earth at the centre had managed to lift itself by an imperceptible swell, a foot or two, and here in 1811 the commissioners of the county established the county-seat. No one now can form an accurate idea of the muddy, sodden little town, largely of log buildings, when the young Wades went there for examination. The woods were very near, walling it in all round. They still covered the whole country, with stumpy and muddy roads through them leading to it; the wide swampy lands were traversed on logways of sections of trees twelve or eighteen inches through, laid side by side, sometimes for a mile in extent. Here the court of common pleas, consisting of a president-judge—a lawyer elected as were the supreme judges, by the legislature—and three associates, laymen, sat three times a year. It had universal jurisdiction, civil, criminal and

probate; also licensed public houses, then called taverns, as was the better old English way. It also had appellate jurisdiction, and in error, in all cases arising before justices of the peace, who collectively dispose of infinitely a larger number of cases, and settle the rights to a larger sum total, than do the courts of record. Like all new communities, the pioneers of the Western Reserve were litigious. The causes of their suits and the sums involved would throw a curious light on their character and time. To go to a lawsuit between others, above all go to court at Jefferson, Warren or Chardon, was a great thing. To be called as a juror gave a man importance. He not only heard the lawyers, they talked *to him*. He was a part of the tribunal; ever afterward a man of note in his neighborhood. The young advocate, whether in the log house of the magistrate or the larger forum of the common pleas, was sure of a large and very appreciative audience, than which nothing gives so much interest and consequence to a trial and the man conducting it. Trial by jury is incidentally valuable, as it so largely adds interest and importance to the ordinary administration of law. Contrast the usual *nisi prius* courts, with the supreme court of the United States in session. Note the attentive throngs, the presence of reporters in the one; the emptiness and sleepy silence of the other. Day by day, in the capital, the third coördinate department of the government discharges its high and sacred functions without a solitary spectator. At the best a casual visitor flits in, with, per-

haps, a lady. A minute satisfies their curiosity, and they glide away. The gravest cases are heard and decided in the presence of counsel and the officers and pages of the court only. The philosophy of the history of a free people may be largely drawn from its legislation, its character and bent, its genius from its litigation—its crimes even.

For aids in practice the young Wades had Tidd and Chitty. The Ohio legislature and the courts had secured for them about the best system of procedure the common law was capable of—simple, practical, safe. The gains by the later code were of doubtful value. Its good was nearly all due to the modified English practice. Its bad was its own, abundant, and due to the tendency of the later years for mere detail, which mars alike constitutions and statutes—a weak love for analysis, which has rendered trials interminable and multiplied sub-issues until the few verdicts obtained cannot be sustained. These are faults of the bar, as courts and lawyers. If the young barristers looked for adjudged cases, they must still go mainly to England. Hammond's first volume was published in 1823. There were about twenty-five volumes of the United States supreme court reports, a few United States circuit court volumes, and from twenty to thirty of each of the oldest states.* No old lawyer had them all. These young men had none of them.

* Happy time! Ere the weak wash of the forty odd volumes of state report seach year, the despair of the lawyer, adding immensely to his work, and nothing to his learning. He wants to know what the law is. He need not care what the courts of Beersheba say about it.

The Ohio statutes at that time were found in the twenty-ninth volume, "The Sheepskin Code" of the lawyers.

Of the more notable lawyers they found at the bar of Ashtabula Samuel Wheeler, Mr. Giddings and two or three others. O. H. Fitch, Horace Wilder, S. S. Osborn and O. H. Knapp were admitted at about the same time, as was Seabury Ford, the future governor of the state, in adjoining Geauga. William L. Perkins and James H. Paine were at Painesville of that county, as was S. W. Phelps. Rufus P. Spalding must have come to the bar about the same time, and Sherlock-J. Andrews and John W. Willey were at Cleveland. Warren had its bar; so had Ravenna. The practice of "riding the circuit" like a Methodist preacher never obtained on the Reserve as in the middle and southern parts of the state.

No one has ever told us of Frank Wade's first case, which usually stands in the lawyer's memory as the hunter's first deer, the lover's first kiss, and costs him as many tremors and as much fever. Of course it was before a magistrate. It may have been a small trespass, or a case growing out of the universal course of business, of giving notes of hand payable in specific articles, or "neat stock," "grain," "store pay" or more general still, "in produce." These were a fruitful source of litigation, small and large, reaching to my time.*

* Among my first considerable cases in the Ohio supreme court was one on a writing to pay for a farm in wool. The case of Hostatt was another, in a small way, before a justice of the peace. He had a due-bill for two dollars and a half, payable in pro-

It is possible his first case was before his brother-in-law, Cadwell, to settle a controversy about some "saw-logs." That, or Cadwell was a party. Frank had no case and was beaten.†

Another source of litigation arose from the method of land sales on the Reserve. Few paid for lands at purchase, and took a contract of sale from the owner or agent, called in the language of the time an "article." The buyer "articled" the land. They should have been recorded. They seldom were. Of course the land office knew of the sale, strangers never. Often the purchaser either never took possession, or abandoned it if he did. Years run on without his being heard from, the owner knows nothing of him. The articles become forfeit for nonpayment, without notice to the buyer. Many "lots" or fractions, so held were "bought out from under him"—the holder, still in possession, as it was called. There were grave questions of "betterments," as the improvements were called. Most of the owners were non-residents. The legislature came to the aid of holders. The cases were numer-

ous, sometimes difficult, important and interesting.*

Mr. Wade, like most young lawyers, did a good deal of waiting for clients. That is the ordeal. He had to see himself passed for other men his inferiors, because they were his seniors. The cool, phlegmatic New Englanders have always been slow to trust young men. "I was always too young," said a witty man in his decline, speaking of them, "Until it was discovered that I was too old!" It is still the rule with them. Such was his standing, however, that in 1831 he formed a partnership with J. R. Giddings, which introduced him to a much wider practice, and more important cases. The position of junior, for a young or ordinary man, to one of the standing and nature of Mr. Giddings is full of peril. He is apt to be overshadowed, dwarfed. He keeps the books, looks up the law, runs errands, serves notices, helplessly dependent upon the senior, whose clients never become his. He never secures any of his own. He merely answers questions as to *him*—his engagements. In court he is helpless alone. Always leaning on his partner, he can never go alone. Frank Wade never filled this role. He was of good age, had confidence, courage and will power. He had taken root and made healthful growth. He was now

†S. S. Osborne, a student and partner of Giddings, had the other side. Himself became prominent at the bar, and later a leading member of the Ohio senate. He was my informant. He said at that time Frank could hardly speak at all; but, though modest, was the most courageous man that ever faced a court.

duce. The maker tendered wheat. Of course Hostatt failed, a tender being kept good. He wanted whisky. "W'eat! w'eat! w'at kin I do with w'eat?" he demanded. "W'isky now, I knows right w'ere I kin *turn* that."

*N. D. Webb of Warren, was a noted lawyer in this class of cases. Nearly all the leading lawyers, had many of them. It may be remarked that lawyers' fees were then ridiculously small, usually paid in kind and stipulated—the amount in advance. I once received twelve bushels of wheat for trying a case before a J. P. and a jury. Wheat was fifty cents per bushel.

to occupy a larger, wider field for himself as for the firm.

It is said that few young men ever showed less aptitude for public speaking than did he. The testimony to this is unanimous. Probably no modern people possess more native aptitude for effective speech than the born Americans of the present time. No people, ancient or modern, not excepting the ancient Greeks, more readily become fluent speakers. As an art, oratory is everywhere lost. One wonders when he thinks what a controlling part speech exercises in all human affairs, private as well as public, that so little attention is paid to training men, and women as well, in the use of words orally.

Wade seemed an exception to his countrymen, who do now, in schools, give very ineffective attention to elocution. They did then, some, but he knew nothing of the higher schools. His efforts were for a long time dead failures—so flagrantly so that he was laughed at, ridiculed, for the sorry showing he made. The shame and mortification it cost him, the effort of will, persistence and endurance of actual labor and agony, to finally win success as a speaker, were never known to others, not even to Ned, who had some of the same difficulties to overcome. He had never attempted a declamation, or to recite, save from the dismal 'Day of Doom,' of the great-grandfather. The moment he rose to his feet, ideas fled, memory was annihilated, language was dead; a more sensitive, less self-sustained man would have never tried but once—making such a failure. Many instances of

abandonment of the profession for this cause are well known. The American young lawyer must become an advocate—that was the rule. Frank Wade was to be an advocate—not a mere halting, hemming stammerer, but an advocate, an orator, strong, bold, effective; and such he became. Not merely an average, a fair speaker, but he pushed, battled, toiled, to the first rank, and among the very foremost of that. Even in his worst day he refused to write and commit a speech. It is rare that a lawyer can find the time for that. He scorned it. He would become a ready, effective, attractive speaker—and he did as stated.

The faculty of rising in court, stating the case, conducting the examination of numerous witnesses, arguing the questions of the admissibility of evidence, during a protracted, sharply contested trial; and, on the close of the evidence, without intervening time, then proceed to the presentation of the case, law and evidence, clearly, strongly, logically, with pertinence, wit, eloquence, perhaps pathos, alway astonishes the lay spectators, as it well may. Such efforts rank with the best work of the human intellect, and the men capable of it, habitually, must have much mental excellence of a high order. An advocate who at will did such work, Mr. Wade, after years of failure, became; and he enjoyed the fruits of it while he lived. Perhaps this was really his greatest success.

The first necessity of successful advocacy is entire belief in the justice of a cause. It is the first duty of an advocate to convince himself he is right,

however he may fare with court and jury. It is a poor advocate who cannot do this; a careless one, or a very bad case, where he does not do it. It is a reproach to the bar—many good and very pious men are called upon to shake their heads over it—this constant spectacle of honorable men, earnestly contending on the opposite sides of the same case, one of whom must be in the wrong, and must know he is. They with charitable effort cannot understand it. Indeed! Divines, the most learned and pious, differ as to the meaning of passages of writ called holy; given as both sides aver by divine inspiration. They used to burn one another for this difference. As for lawyers it should be remembered that of civil cases not one in ten involves directly a question of moral right and wrong. They usually are to determine which of two parties is to suffer a loss, occasioned by the act of a third. One man liable to a loss goes to a lawyer and gives him his version of the provable facts, who, making fair allowance, honestly finds the law with him and commences a suit. The party sued tells his version to another lawyer, who, making the same allowance, finds he has a good defense and denies the cause of action. From that day to the trial each party looks for witnesses to sustain his version of the facts, and each lawyer searches for cases and rules to support his version of the law. When we remember that a man can argue himself into or out of anything, we may be assured that each lawyer sits down to the trial with the conscientious belief that he is right. The trouble is not in the

law nor in the lawyers, but in the facts. Neither party knew them all. The best and most honest efforts of both sides in proof still leave them in some doubt. This fairly illustrates the true position of the really good lawyer, who would not intentionally deceive himself, and who would no more tell a lie to the court or jury than any true man would tell a lie in an ordinary transaction. If he did, the lawyer on the other side would instantly expose him. The fact that the contests of lawyers are face to face in the open courts, in presence of interested and curious spectators, keeps men at their best, true, honest and chivalrous. Even criminals must be defended with learning and zeal. The state appoints the judge, the prosecutor; the jurors are its citizens, a part of the state. So are the sheriff and his officers, the press and public are against the accused, have cornered him. They bring him from the jail and place him in the dock. In the name of decency, has not the state sufficiently the advantage? A lawyer can perform no more sacred duty when called to his side than to give him his best and most effective services. I utterly repudiate Lord Brougham's rule—as do American lawyers generally. A lawyer's first duty, over and above his client, is to the law. He must make fair and honorable use of such means only as to him appear clean and real. This excludes perjury, and simulated evidence; with these let him not forget God, and do his best. He will then only secure a fair trial, such as the law and all good men award to the worst criminals. These were the rules

of Frank Wade's professional life.

Unquestionably he seldom tried a case without believing he was right, ought to succeed, and so did his best. That best was usually among the very good—the best of his time and opportunities. His excellence as a lawyer consisted in the clearness with which he apprehended the real matter in dispute, where and upon what it rested, upon what it turned, and what in the white light of law would govern and control it. These means were to be found and applied. Law with him was a science, not a trade. Its reason—philosophy—he mastered, could deliver them into the easy apprehension of the court in strong, well-selected language, best adapted for forensic presentation. As an advocate he had that rarest of powers—that of clear seeing and clear statement—statement which outruns argument; precludes it; statement which argument sometimes obscures. All great truths should be left to their own simple assertion. The advocate should place them in clear view and leave them. A good advocate must be a good lawyer. While he was an admirable lawyer, he dealt equally well—perhaps better—with facts. He never made the common mistake of overestimating the mental capacity of a jury. He never fired over their heads. He knew their inability for long-continued, hard, intellectual labor. He never overloaded them. In the language of his mother and sisters, learned in the Feeding Hills before he was ten years old, simple and chaste, he laid before them the real matter for them, delivered it safely into their custody. In clear-

ing the field of all mere rubbish, then, he made two or three strong, conclusive points, the fewest that would dispose of the case, in the most direct, possible way. His conclusions were irrefutable—his premises admitted. It was only when his foundations could be assailed that he was successfully replied to. All his figures, his illustrations, were drawn from their own lives—forcible, laughable at times. Not a soft, bland speaker, he never attempted to persuade, lead or mislead. No sham, no affectation, no flattery, no semblance of demagogueism, no cant, no hypocrisy, but plain, honest, intense sincerity, working for conviction.

He had a good, well knit, well proportioned figure; erect, flexible, well turned; a noble head, grandly borne; a face well featured, striking; a fine mouth, black, melancholy eyes that had a way of burning with a deep, smothered fire; voice good. He usually began to speak standing very erect, his right hand in his breast within the vest. When something striking, emphatic—a point—was reached, he rose on his toes, threw out his hand, sometimes both, with force and grace, rising and sinking on his toes in a peculiar, and in him a very effective way. Behind all his clearness were force, strength, logic intense, never overwrought earnestness, and more than all, better than all, stood a pure-hearted, clean-living, truthful man, every fiber a man. All these made him one of the most dangerous as one of the most successful advocates of his day. I had heard him spoken of as a strong, coarse, unpleasant speaker. Early in the forties I heard him argue a demurer at

Warren. I thought him a handsome, graceful, as well as a strong, bold speaker. My early impression always remained. He and his brother were the best, or two of the best, special pleaders in the state, as practically they handled the rules of evidence the most effectively. Hence they were the most successful lawyers, the most dangerous opponents of those now old contests of the Northern Ohio bar.

While the elder brother was of rather rude—unpolished—manners, his manner, to his opponents was kindly, his treatment generous, unless provoked by unfairness, chicane or some species of pettyfogging, when his wit and sarcasm were something awful. His own practice and conduct never gave occasion for complaint. Witnesses, even on cross-examination, were always treated with considerate kindness, unless he suspected a deviation from or concealment of the truth. To the court always respectful; and such was his faculty of impressing courts that they differed from him reluctantly. His was the force that sometimes carried juries and courts because he would carry them.

An instance of the kindness of his nature, akin to weakness, illustrates the manner of man he was. He once discovered a man filling his bag from his corn-crib, and he quietly withdrew to save the man the mortification of discovery. He mentioned the incident; he never told the man's name.

His wit partook of the character of his intellect, incisive, and if men sometimes winced under it, we know that the man who could be thus tender of the

feelings of a thief could not intentionally wound. Like other men accustomed to wielding trenchant weapons, he was possibly unaware of the effect of his blows and thrusts.

The firm of Giddings & Wade became the leading law association of their immediate neighborhood, when under the changed character of the business habits of denser population and the consequent diversity of employment; by the opening of channels of communication, the growth of lake marine, the causes and character of litigation changed and multiplied. It was not until comparatively recently that the admiralty laws of congress were extended to the great lakes. Their want in the meantime was supplied by legislation of the state, which permitted suits for supplies, wages, claims for damages, for all causes of action against a craft by name, in any county along the lake coast, in whose waters service of process could be made, no matter where or by whom owned. Geauga had a port, Ashtabula had two. There was power in the courts to change the venue of marine cases, as of others. Shipping increased. Lake Erie was stormy. There were many cases for collisions, especially between steamers and sailors, as between steam vessels or sailors. Many of these became famous cases. They paid well. In the autumn of 1835, Mr. Wade was elected prosecuting attorney of Ashtabula county, which office he held for its term of two years. The rules of evidence are the same in criminal and civil cases. A good law pleader will not fail in his in-

dictments. Mr. Wade became the model of his successors. The so-called criminal laws are purely for the suppression of crime by penalties, punishments, investigated and applied by the courts. In Ohio, as in all the younger states, there are no so-called common law offenses, although in the administration of the statutes, the common law, its cases and rules are in constant requisition. The law-makers alway use its terms, and are guided by its lights, so that it becomes the great exponent of their labors. The criminal law lies in a nutshell. Any good commercial lawyer will master its specialties in a short time. Criminal trials have attractions for many young lawyers, and sparingly indulged in may be of service. The defense usually consists in showing the unconvulsive nature of the case made by the state. They give scope for the apt advocate, and have something of the fascination and danger of the gambling house. The most heinous crimes of the Reserve were then horse-stealing and passing counterfeit money.

Wade was a vigorous, safe and popular prosecutor; relentless where he was satisfied of a culprit's guilt. He put no others on trial. The kindness of his nature ever prompted him to see that convicts were as leniently dealt with as the public good permitted.

During all these years, as all the preceding years of his life, the still young rising, risen, well-grown and ever growing young lawyer was the most popular young man of his time, and widely extended, ever widening circle. A democrat in life, with the frankest manners—

the few he possessed—cordial, unpretending, warm-hearted, quick, strong, fearless, decisive, magnetic to men, the most virile of men, he was a born leader. Men admired, were drawn to, and followed him. Never exacting, never haughty, never imperious, obtrusive or overbearing; simple, truthful, considerate, tender, a doer for others all his life, in no way a self-seeker ever, the atmosphere of him alway true, manly, a hater of a lie, the scorner of sham, the ridiculer of effeminacy. Young men were drawn to him, became his students, adopted his manner—it often set badly on them. They combed their hair back over their heads. Where he was merely frank and abrupt, they became coarse and rough; where he indulged in the stronger English, they became profane. In a few years the bar of northern Ohio was invaded by these rude, swearing caricatures of the strong, magnetic man.

His influence, save in the matter of manners, was wholly good, directly in the line of honor, integrity, manliness, truth, clean living, industry, and thorough mastery of the law for the student, enterprise in all pursuits. The austerity, the lurid theology of the Puritans, drove his free, masculine mind, his tender nature, to open revolt. The reverence of his self-poised soul remained; was ever strong. He stepped from the prisonhouse of bigotry into the whiter outside light and perfect freedom of thought. The frankness of his nature gave utterance to his impressions, views, opinions. Jefferson, Ash-tabula, the Western Reserve, were orthodox. The revolt had begun in New

England. The healthy intellect and soul of young Wade had taken the new spirit into the Ohio woods. It found its own utterance. Not offensively; he was not a propagandist of these ideas. His regard for the feelings of others, his memory of his mother, forbade that. These, his skeptical notions, were the one drawback to his immense personal popularity. These, too, infected his personal followers. Indeed, so many marks, so much of the obvious Wade, were borne about by them, that those of us who were beyond the outer ring of his growing circle could generally tell one of them in five minutes, if he did not sooner proclaim himself. This was the estimate of him by men. I have enquired by letters in vain for the estimate of him by women. Thus far, the form of no woman has flitted across the field of vision. He had much to win the respect, admiration and confidence of women. I presume that he did not seek their society. So many a man must have been anxious for their good opinion. Men widely differ in this regard. I have known many strong men to whom the grace of women was not necessary. Wade may have been one of them. I may secure more light.

At the October election of 1837 Mr. Wade was elected to the Ohio senate. In 1839 he was placed in nomination again for the senate and defeated. The causes were peculiar. In 1841 he was reëlected. He resigned, but was elected again the ensuing autumn. I shall have ample occasion later to deal with the politician and statesman after the judge.

The firm of Giddings & Wade was

dissolved in the spring of 1837, by the retirement of Mr. Giddings, and the new firm of Wade & Ranney was formed. Mr. Ranney had been a student of the late firm, was to develop, perhaps, one of the best, if not the first, legal minds of the state, and take rank with the great American lawyers and jurists.

The year 1837 saw the first of the great, wide-spread commercial disasters of the country, and presented a new test, a new ordeal, a new problem for the American people. Its causes, though then well understood, were less obvious than, with wider induction and larger experience, they appear to us now. One of them was the war of Andrew Jackson on the old United States bank, the removal of the public monies from its vaults to the seven pet state banks; the over issue by them, stimulated by him; the general consequent inflation of bank issues; the monstrous growth of credits; the wild and universal epidemic speculation, mainly in real estate; the multiplication of new cities, mostly on paper. The collapse came of course. It is mentioned here because the late firm of Giddings & Wade had been among the speculators, especially in the city and water lots of the Maumee—platted for cities from its mouth to Fort Wayne. The firm, the individual members and many friends, became bankrupt. Wade made large, timely sales, but they were caught. For him, as for his younger brother, there was but one way of escape—liquidation, payment. All the large earnings for years were henceforth devoted to this, a sacred purpose, until the last dollar was hon-

orably extinguished. Mr. Wade had to become thrifty and careful of expenditure. The country at large took refuge in a general bankrupt law. Two have been enacted, amended, carefully administered and repealed within our time, indicating that the sense of the American people, enlightened or otherwise, is adverse to a bankrupt law as an institution of commerce. However that may be, neither member of the old firm, nor did the younger Wade, think

of shelter in the provisions of the older act.

The next year, 1841, witnessed the second of the most important events of the life of B. F. Wade. It would be quite in accord with the usages of personal history to state a marriage in parenthesis or a foot note. These papers are constructed in my own way. This thing is of too much importance to be mentioned at the end of a desultory chapter.

A. G. RIDDLE.

POST'S FIRST VISIT TO THE WESTERN INDIANS.

In the middle of July, 1758, Christian Frederick Post received orders from the governor of Pennsylvania to proceed to the western part of the province and endeavor to withdraw the Indian tribes there from the French interest. Post was an unassuming Moravian preacher. He had come from Germany in 1742. For several years he had preached among the Indians, and he had married a baptized Mohican woman. His own temperament and his intimate knowledge of the Indian character caused him to be well fitted for the duty with which he was entrusted. He was accompanied by Tom Hickman, an interpreter, and a number of Indians, among them Pisquetumen and Wellemeghink.* The Indians were at Ger-

mantown, a hamlet a few miles north of Philadelphia. When Post arrived there on the fifteenth of July, he found them all drunk, except Wellemeghink, who had gone to Philadelphia for a horse that had been promised him. Post waited until near noon the next day for his return, and when he came he was so drunk that he could get no farther, and Post was obliged to proceed without him. Post had a good deal of trouble to get his Indians off, as they made out to be generally either drunk or sick; but on the sixteenth of the month, he at length got properly started on his perilous journey. At Fort Allen, where he arrived on the twentieth, he met with serious opposition from King Teedyuscung. Two years before, at Easton, Teedyuscung had made a treaty of peace and friendship with the English. He was now about fifty years old. He is described in the records of the time as "a lusty, rawboned man, haughty and

*In the 'Pennsylvania Archives' we find this name printed *Willm. McKaking*. See volume III. page 530. In Proud's 'History of Pennsylvania' it appears as *Willamegicken* and *Wellemeghink*. See volume II., appendix.

very desirous of respect and command." He had also a great capacity for fire-water. "He can drink three quarts or a gallon of rum a day without being drunk." Hence there is no telling what quantity he must have imbibed on those festive occasions when he became intoxicated, as at the council at Easton, when it is said that he and "his wild company were perpetually drunk, very much on the Gascoon, and at times abusive to the inhabitants." He was also "full of himself, saying frequently that which side soever he took must stand, and the other fall."[†] He declared that he had been made king by ten nations, namely, the united Six Nations, and the Delawares, Shawanese, Mohicans and Munceys. "He carried the belt of peace with him," he said, "and whoever would might take hold of it." At this treaty he declared that he was present by the appointment of these ten nations, and that what he did they would all confirm. Yet a day or two afterwards he qualified this statement. He was not sure that he could prevail on the Ohio Indians. "I cannot tell," he said, "that they will leave off doing mischief;" and he advised the English to make themselves strong on that side. He was right as to the Indians on the Ohio. His treaty was effective so far as regarded the Indians on the Susquehanna, but the tribes in the Ohio Valley scouted his authority.

Teedyuscung now protested against Post's proceeding on his mission. "His reasons were," says Post, "that he was afraid the Indians would kill me, or the

French get me; and if that should be the case he should be very sorry, and did not know what he should do." His opposition was such that but three of the Indians offered to go any farther with Post. "We concluded," says Post, "to go through the inhabitants, under the Blue mountains, to Fort Augusta, on Susquehanna." This fort stood at Shamokin, where Sunbury now stands. It was built in the summer of 1756. Post arrived there on the twenty-fifth of July. "It gave me great pain," he says, "to observe many plantations deserted and laid waste, and I could not but reflect on the distress the poor owners must be drove to, who once lived in plenty, and I prayed the Lord to restore peace and prosperity to the distressed." At Fort Augusta the unpleasant news was brought by some Indians that the English army had been destroyed at Ticonderoga, which so discouraged one of his companions, "Lappopetung's son," that he refused to accompany the expedition any farther. This reduced Post's original company to only two men, evidently Pisquetumen and Tom Hickman. He must here have recruited his force, as we know that he afterwards had at least four men with him. One of those whom he here picked up was Shamokin Daniel, and Shamokin Daniel afterwards turned out to be a thorn in the flesh.* At the fort

*The Indians at Shamokin were a very depraved set. Good David Brainerd, who had visited them some years before, says of them: "The Indians of this place are accounted the most drunken, mischievous and ruffian-like fellows of any in these parts; and Satan seems to have his seat in this town in an eminent manner."—*Brainerd's Diary*, Sept. 13, 1745.

[†] Pennsylvania Archives, volume II. page 724.

they were furnished with everything necessary for the journey, and on the twenty-seventh they "set out with good courage." After various adventures they came, on the seventh of August, in sight of Fort Venango.* "I prayed the Lord to blind them," says Post, "as he did the enemies of Lot and Elisha, that I might pass unknown." They slept that night within half gunshot of the fort. On the tenth they met an Indian, and one whom Post believed to be a renegade English trader, from whom they learned that they had lost the way, and that they were within twenty miles of Fort Duquesne. Upon this they struck off to the right, and slept that night "between two mountains." On the second day after this they came to the Connoquenessing, or, as Post writes it, the Conaquanoshon, where, he says, was an old Indian town, fifteen miles from Kushkushkee.† "The point at which Post saw the Conaquanoshon was probably about where Harmony now stands, as this village is just fifteen miles in a straight line from Newport, which occupies the sight of Cushcushcunk, or Kosh-kosh-kung. If this supposition is correct there must have then been, in 1758, 'an old Indian town' upon or very near the ground on which Harmony is built."‡

From this point they sent Pisquetu-

*This was the French fort at the mouth of French creek. It was called by the French, Fort Machault.

†This name is variously spelled in the old records. In Weiser's journal it is written *Coscosky*; in Washington's journal, *Kuskusho*; in Post's journal, *Kushkushkee*; while two other varieties of spelling are seen above.

‡Hist. of Butler Co., Pa., p. 15.

men to Kushkushkee in advance of the party, with a message of friendship and explanation. About noon they met some Shawanese that had formerly lived at Wyoming. They knew Post, and greeted him very kindly. "I saluted them," says he, "and assured them the government of Pennsylvania wished them well, and wished to live in peace and friendship with them." Before they reached the town, two men came out to meet them and bring them in. King Beaver seemed to be the chief man in the place. He received them, and showed them a large house in which they could lodge. The news soon spread, and the people gathered about to see them. There were about sixty young warriors who came and shook hands with them. King Beaver spoke to the people. "Boys," said he, "hearken. We sat here without ever expecting again to see our brethren, the English; but now one of them is brought before you that you may see your brethren, the English, with your own eyes; and I wish you may take it into consideration." Then, turning to Post, he said, "Brother, I am very glad to see you; I never thought we should have had the opportunity to see one another more; but now I am very glad, and thank God, who has brought you to us. It is a great satisfaction to me." To this address of welcome Post replied: "Brother, I rejoice in my heart; I thank God, who has brought me to you. I bring you joyful news from the governor and people of Pennsylvania, and from your children, the Friends; and, as I have words of great consequence, I will lay

them before you when all the kings and captains are called together from the other towns."

Messengers were at once dispatched to the surrounding towns and villages, but it was not until the seventeenth of the month that the different "kings and captains" could be got together. In the meantime Post had been treated with the greatest kindness. The Indians seemed really pleased that he had visited them. They came to his lodgings, where they would remain and dance sometimes until after midnight. Some Frenchmen, who were in the town building houses for the Indians, also came to see him. Among those who came to the great council were two Indian captains from Fort Duquesne. They were very surly. "When I went to shake hands with one of them," says Post, "he gave me his little finger; the other withdrew his hand entirely; upon which I appeared as stout as either, and withdrew my hand as quick as I could. Their rudeness to me," he adds, "was taken very ill by the other captains, who treated them in the same manner in their turn." With these two messengers from Fort Duquesne, had come a French captain and fifteen men. But Post would have nothing to do with them; he had been sent to the Indians, he said, and not to the French. In the councils that followed, the Indians expressed a desire for peace. "All the Indians," said they, "a great way from this, even beyond the lakes, wish for a peace with the English, and have desired us, as we are the nearest of kin, if we see the English incline to a peace,

to hold it fast." They entirely ignored Teedyuscung, however, and would not hear of any treaty that had been made by him.

But, as they said, they could not make peace alone; it was necessary that all should join in it, or it could be no peace. They therefore proposed to go to a neighboring town called Sawkunk,* and consider the matter further there. To this Post consented, and they set out on the twentieth. The party consisted of twenty-five horsemen and fifteen foot. They arrived at Sawkunk in the afternoon. Post's reception there was not so friendly as at Kushkushkee. "The people of the town were much disturbed at my coming," says he, "and received me in a very rough manner. They surrounded me with drawn knives in their hands, in such a manner that I could hardly get along." They evidently thirsted for his blood, and seemed to desire some pretense to kill him; but some Indians coming up, whom Post had formerly known, who now greeted him in a friendly manner, the behavior of the others quickly changed. Here it was proposed that he should proceed to Fort Duquesne, as there were eight different nations there who desired to hear his message. To this Post earnestly objected, but in vain; the Indians insisted; told him he need not fear the French, that they would carry him "in

*Sawkunk was an important Indian town that stood at the confluence of the Big Beaver and Ohio rivers. The name signifies "at the mouth," or where one stream flows into another. See Boyd's 'Indian Local Names,' page 43.

their bosoms." They accordingly set out for the fort, but went only as far as Logstown that day. The next day, August 24, they continued their journey, and in the afternoon came in sight of the fort. They did not cross over, but remained on the north bank of the river. As they had come up the river from Logstown, the place where they halted was, perhaps, a little below the point where the fort stood. Immediately all the Indian chiefs at the fort crossed over, when King Beaver presented Post to them, saying: "Here is our English brother, who has brought great news." Some of the chiefs signified their pleasure at seeing him; but one old, deaf Onondago denounced him. "I do not know this Swannock," said he; "it may be that you know him. I, the Shawanese, and our father do not know him." The next day, however, he acknowledged that he had been wrong; he said that "he had now cleaned himself," and hoped they would forgive him.

The French, and some of the Indians, demanded that Post should be sent into the fort; but the other Indians would not hear to this. On the twenty-fifth the chiefs assembled again and had a great deal of counselling among themselves. The French were still intriguing to get Post into their hands, but his friends would not give him up. He was told not to stir from the fire, for the French had offered a great reward for his scalp, and that some parties were desirous to secure it. "Accordingly I stuck constantly as close to the fire," says he, "as if I had been chained

there." The following day the Indians and a number of the French officers crossed the river again to hear what Post had to say. They brought with them a table and writing materials, to take down what might be said. Post stood in the middle of them and spoke at considerable length "with a free conscience." The French, he says, did not seem pleased with his speech. "Brethren at Allegheny," said he, "hear what I say: Every one that lays hold of this belt of peace, I proclaim peace to them from the English nation, and let you know that the great king of England does not incline to have war with the Indians; but he wants to live in peace and love with them, if they will lay down the hatchet and leave off war with him. We let you know that the great king of England has sent a great number of warriors into this country, not to go to war with the Indians in their towns, no, not at all; these warriors are going against the French. By this belt I take you by the hand, and lead you at a distance from the French, for your own safety, that your legs may not be stained with blood. Come away on this side the mountain, where we may oftener converse together, and where your own flesh and blood lives. I have almost finished what I had to say, and hope it will be to your satisfaction. My wish is that we may join close together in that old brotherly love and friendship which our grandfathers had, so that all the nations may hear and see us, and have the benefit of it; and if you have any uneasiness or complaint in your heart and mind, do

not keep it to yourself. We have opened the road to the council fire, therefore, my brethren, come and acquaint the governor with it; you will be readily heard, and full justice will be done you."

After the council the French and Indians returned to the fort, except Post's companions, who were about seventy in number. One of the latter, however, Shamokin Daniel, went over to the fort, though his comrades disapproved it. Here he had some conversation with the commandant, and soon returned with a laced coat and hat, a blanket, shirts, ribbons, a new gun, powder, lead, etc. He was quite a changed man. He reviled Post and the English, and "behaved in a very proud, saucy and imperious manner." Post was informed that as soon as they got back to the fort, the French proposed to the Indians to cut off Post and his party. To this the Indians would not consent. "The Delawares," said they, "are a strong people, and are spread to a great distance, and whatever they agree to must be." The French again insisted that Post must be delivered up to them; but the Indians refused to do so, except the traitorous Shamokin Daniel, who had received a string of wampum to leave him there. Post's friends then determined that he should set off the next morning before day, which he did. They returned through Sawkunk, and arrived at Kushkushkee in the evening of the twenty-eighth. Pisquetumen, Tom Hickman, Shingiss, and the rascally Shamokin Daniel were of the party.

Though the Delawares had treated Post kindly, and had refused to deliver

him to the French, they were not ready yet to surrender themselves to the English cause. They were suspicious of the English, and of their good intentions. "It is told us," said they, after they had got back to Kushkushkee, "that you and the French contrived the war to waste the Indians between you; and that you and the French intended to divide the land between you. This was told us by the chief of the Indian traders; and they said further, 'Brothers, this is the last time we shall come among you, for the French and English intend to kill all the Indians, and then divide the land among themselves.'"

"I am very sorry," answered Post, "to see you so jealous. I am your own flesh and blood, and sooner than I would tell you any story that would be of hurt to you or your children, I would suffer death. And if I did not know that it was the desire of the governor that we should renew our brotherly love and friendship that subsisted between our grandfathers, I would not have undertaken this journey. I do assure you of mine and the people's honesty."

In a council held on the fourth of September, the chiefs addressing him, said:

Brother, you very well know that you have collected all your young men about the country, which makes a large body, and now they are standing before our doors. You come with good news and fine speeches. This is what makes us jealous, and we do not know what to think of it. If you had brought the news of peace before your army had begun to march, it would have caused a great deal more good. We do not so readily believe you, because a great many great men and traders have told us, long before the war, that you and the French intended to join and cut all the Indians off.



Memorial of Western History

D. A. Shepard

To this speech Post replied :

Brothers, I love you from the bottom of my heart. I am extremely sorry to see the jealousy so deeply rooted in your hearts and minds. I have told you the truth ; and yet, if I was to tell it you a hundred times, it seems you would not rightly believe me. I do now declare, before God, that the English never did, nor never will, join with the French to destroy you.

Having performed the task that had been given him to do, Post now desired to return home ; but the Indians, on one pretext or another, delayed him day after day. They were not entirely satisfied in their minds. "It is a troublesome cross and heavy yoke to draw this people," wrote Post ; "they can punish and squeeze a body's heart to the

utmost. My heart has been very heavy here, because they kept me for no purpose. The Lord knows how they have been counselling about my life ; but they did not know who was my Protector and Deliverer." At length, however, on the afternoon of the eighth of September, Post and his party set off from Kuskushkee, and proceeded ten miles on their return journey. They suffered much from hunger and exposure on the way, and were in great danger from the enemy, but finally arrived at Fort Augusta, on the twenty-second, "very weary and hungry, but greatly rejoiced of our return from this tedious journey."

T. J. CHAPMAN.

DANIEL AYRAULT SHEPARD.

THE men who faced the wilderness of the Connecticut Western Reserve in the earlier days, and those of a later generation who, with no small risk and difficulty, laid the foundations of the great business interests that cover northern Ohio to-day, are all worthy of a large degree of recognition and a full award of praise. Nor need it be reserved until they have passed away. They should be shown that their deeds are held in memory by those they have benefited, and that what they have done has not been forgotten. Of those who are allowed to still serve their fellows in various spheres of usefulness, the one whose name is found above occupies an honored place. He was born March

12, 1810, in the town of Wethersfield, Connecticut, in the old family home near the historic Webb mansion, a stopping place of General Washington in Revolutionary days. On his mother's side he claimed an honored French descent from a Huguenot family that came early to this country. Daniel and Dr. Nicholas Ayrault are mentioned among those who most warmly espoused the cause of American independence. On his father's side he is descended from an Englishman, a shipbuilder, who settled in Middle Haddam, Connecticut.

A small suggestion felt in the early days may have much to do with the tenor and trend of the later life, and so it was in the case of Mr. Shepard. In

1815 there stopped in front of his father's house a large, canvas-covered wagon, on a forty-days' journey to Cleveland, in "New Connecticut." It was drawn by two yoke of oxen and a horse. A cow was tied to the rear of the wagon—the water pail and iron kettles hanging from the axletree below. This wagon contained the late Isaac Hinckley and family, consisting of nine persons, who, on reaching Ohio, settled in Brooklyn township. They stopped for greeting and for rest, and then bade their friends a final good-bye. Although scarcely six years old, the boy Daniel treasured the incident, and to that must be attributed the strong desire that was early formed and strongly held to make a like journey; and in after years he obeyed that early call to "go west"—long before Mr. Greeley had formulated that bit of advice into an aphorism. After receiving a common school education, and six months' instruction at an academy, with the addition of such knowledge of cabinetmaking as his native town afforded, he spent the years of 1830, '31, and '32 in New York City, for the further perfection of himself in the furniture business. In June, 1833, when passing through New York on his way westward, he called on the late firm of Hoadly, Phelps & Company, a drug house of that city. The senior member of that firm, Mr. David Hoadly, kindly gave him letters of introduction to some of the leading men of Cleveland—among whom were Richard Hilliard, A. D. Cutter, Orlando Cutter and Irad Kelley. In doing so Mr. Hoadly said to the young man: "I want you to make the acquaint-

ance of these men on reaching there, for you will then need friends." This kindness was never forgotten.

Mr. Shepard took passage on one of Vanderbilt's night boats for Albany; from there by the "omnibus coach" cars of the new railroad to Schenectady; thence to Utica by packet boat; by line boat on to Buffalo; and thence by vessel to Fairport, Ohio. The trip from that point to Cleveland was made by ox-cart and stage—just sixteen days after leaving New York. All passengers, when near Euclid creek, were ordered out of the stage coach and manned with fence rails, with which to pry their vehicle out of the mud at intervals, for several miles of the way. On reaching Cleveland he found the hotels on Superior street filled with guests. Not a room or bed was to be had. Before nightfall, however, he crossed the Cuyahoga river in a dugout, or log canoe, and found lodgings with a private family, and for several weeks he was there supplied with a hospitable home. This journey, as slow and difficult as it may seem to us now, was only a touch of pioneer life as contrasted with the experience of others. The real hardships were endured by those who had come on before. Deacon Isaac Hinckley and family, after locating—as afterwards narrated by one of his daughters—lived eight days on nothing but Indian corn cracked in a hand mortar. Such was their stress that at times no corn was to be had. On another occasion the deacon offered to place a mortgage of fifty dollars on one hundred acres of his farm, which comprised some of the finest land in

Brooklyn township, for a barrel of flour, but none was to be obtained.

On his arrival Mr. Shepard presented Mr. Hoadly's letters to the parties named, and through them he was introduced to Dr. David Long and family, Ashbel Walworth and family, and others of the settlers of that day, all of whom urged him to stay and cast his fortunes in with those of the little town. The estimated population of Cleveland at that time was about thirty-five hundred, the larger portion being from New England and the other states to the east, settlers under the Connecticut Land company's grant. There were also a few families of foreigners. The people, if not many in number, were homogeneous in nature, and the latch-string hung on the outside of the door of the poor man's cottage as well as on that of the rich man's dwelling. The morals of the community were good. The Sabbath was recognized by most of the people as a day of rest. In 1833 and 1834 the children of the emigrants were first gathered at a Union Bethel room under the hill, and there taught to read in the English language, out of which union work grew the extensive free school system of Cleveland. The teaching in this school was both for intellectual and moral culture, that the children of the foreigners might not only grow up with a knowledge of the English language, but also become true and patriotic American citizens. Mr. Shepard located permanently in Cleveland, and in September of 1833 commenced here the making of furniture. It is a pleasure to hear him tell of the loca-

tions and surroundings of those days. The navigation of the Cuyahoga river by vessels then extended up to the foot of Vineyard lane, now known as South Water street. The banks of the river to that point were only partially docked. Most of the business was done on the east side, on the river and between the river and the line of Ontario street. Cleveland's advantages as a growing centre for the introduction of manufactures was even then highly spoken of. The plans of Mr. Alfred Kelley for furnishing water power in connection with raising the embankments of the Ohio canal at Cleveland were talked of. Steam power was quite limited and expensive at that time, and hardly thought of as a propelling power for general use.

A source of wealth, the half of which was not then told, was presented to Mr. Shepard and decided the question of his location in Cleveland. It was the variety and abundance of the forest timber found on the lands of the Western Reserve. It was useful for the erection of buildings, and also furnished a large supply of close grained woods for inside finishing purposes, furniture and an almost endless variety of other uses. One variety of the maple found growing near the banks of the Cuyahoga river and elsewhere, when colored by the artist, has been made to imitate the finest black ebony of Ceylon and Madagascar. The rich, deep-colored, mottled black-walnut that grew to a large size on the low lands, and which is more easily worked than imported rose-wood, was plentiful. The burr that grew on the trunk of this walnut has

been shipped to Paris and there colored in different hues, and again returned to this country and wrought into beautiful cabinets. The cherry, of a color resembling Cuba mahogany, was abundant; and also the white ash and white wood grew quite extensively. Could the woodman years ago have heard the voice of the people of to-day, "Spare that tree!" and had the forests been propagated and cared for, the diseased and dead trees removed by the pioneer settler and those that succeeded him, what a change it would have made in the extent of growth and increasing value of the timber lands of the Western Reserve. These reflections are not so much of a digression from the purpose of this sketch as at first thought might appear. They have grown out of the experiences related by Mr. Shepard of his long

business days in Cleveland, and of the knowledge that he gained thereby. He has always been a busy and useful man. The late furniture house of D. A. Shepard & Company grew out of the business established by D. A. Shepard in 1833. It was continued until 1865, and managed by three brothers, Edward Shepard, D. A. Shepard and Charles L. Shepard, and was closed after the decease of Edward Shepard, in September, 1866.

Mr. D. A. Shepard is still living among the people who have grown up around him, and in the midst of a great city that he has seen grow into its present great proportions. He is loved and respected by all, and one of his chief pleasures is to live over again in memory and conversation those stirring scenes of the pioneer days.

THE BRUSH ELECTRIC LIGHT—THE HISTORY OF A CLEVELAND ENTERPRISE.

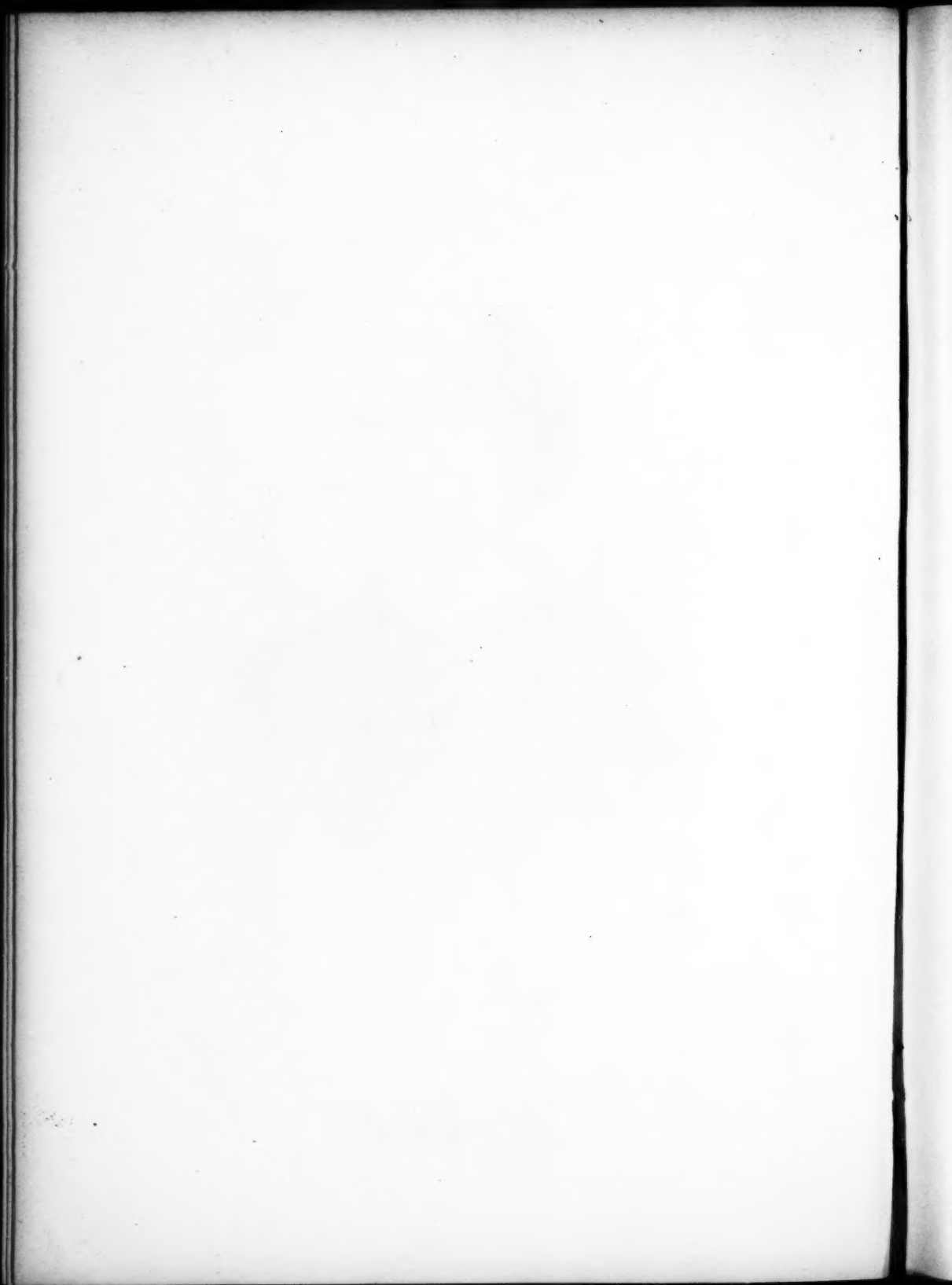
THE success of the Brush electric light, in a commercial as well as a scientific sense, is among the marvels of even this remarkable age, and the full story of the birth and growth of this great invention, if it could be written, would be replete with information of the most interesting character. Its creator, although yet on the sunny side of forty, has a fame that has penetrated into the four corners of the globe, while the machine he has fashioned creates electric light and power on every continent and every ocean of this gray, old earth of ours. Even such

outlines of that history as can be set down within the bounds of this article must hold points of no ordinary interest. To discover the beginning of the light itself, and as a preliminary to the extension and upbuilding of the great lighting system that it has created, a look must be taken into the life of Mr. Charles F. Brush himself. He came of the best eastern stock, of which the chief characteristics were a sturdy good sense and honesty, and a ready adaptability of life to the circumstances surrounding it. He was born in Euclid township, Cuyahoga



Western Biogr. Pub. Co.

J. M. Stockley



county, on March 17, 1849. His early days were spent on the farm, where were laid the foundations of that fine physical manhood with which he is endowed, and later in the schools of Cleveland. The bent of his mind from the beginning was in a scientific and inventive direction, and anything in his books or in the life around him that could aid in the unlocking of the great storehouse of nature and bringing her treasures forth for the use of man, was eagerly seized upon and mastered to its most trivial detail. Chemistry, natural philosophy, mechanism and kindred branches were his special choice, and he was endowed with a vision that could take him past the results into the heart of the principle itself. As a boy he was always experimenting. When thirteen years of age he was at work with batteries and magnets, endeavoring in some shape or other to corner and harness the subtle giant who revealed himself only here and there by the mightiness of his works. Two years later he was busy with telescopes and microscopes, manufacturing several of these instruments and doing all the work himself, even to the grinding of the lenses. He devised a plan for turning the gas on the street lamps, lighting it, and again turning it off by electrical action. His mind was active in other inventive directions, and even then was marked a peculiarity that has characterized all his after life. He never experimented for the mere pleasure of toying with the forces of nature, and invented nothing for the mere demonstration of the power to invent. Each model that found construction at his

hand must have not only a use and the power to perform some portion of the world's labor, but must be in answer to some expressed demand of the world therefor. This trait of character has found expression all through the labors of Mr. Brush, and is one of the marks that set him apart from the main body of the world's great inventors.

On the completion of the high school course, Mr. Brush graduated, and soon after entered the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, where he chose a special course of study with reference to his taste and purpose. He studied closely, and in 1869 graduated as a mining engineer, being one year in advance of his class. He decided to make his home in Cleveland, and returning to this city organized a laboratory and conducted the business of an analytical chemist for some three years, being remarked for the accuracy of his work and his wonderful skill. He engaged for a short time in the iron business, but soon gave it up and commenced the great labor of his life. Mr. Brush had been a school-mate and for years a friend of Mr. George W. Stockly, at this time manager and vice-president of the Cleveland Telegraph Supply company, and had several times been called upon to perform some special scientific and electrical work for that organization. He was quite often in the office, where naturally the subject of electricity was introduced and discussed in all its bearings. On one of these occasions Mr. Brush remarked that the subject of electrical lighting was one to which he had given no little thought and investigation, and

added the opinion that he believed he could produce a more efficient machine than the Gramme dynamo-electric machine, which had been shown in Paris a short time before, provided there would be a public demand for it when created. The quick mind of Mr. Stockly grasped the idea at once, the more especially as he had ere that come to the conclusion that, were his company to make a strike in the world, it must adopt some commanding specialty. He immediately suggested to Mr. Brush that if he could furnish the invention there would be little difficulty in finding it a market in a time when the world was developing in so many directions and increasing in its demands for better methods and more helpful facilities. The two gentlemen discussed the matter coolly and carefully, and with reference to all the dangers and chances in the way. The result was an arrangement by which Mr. Brush should attempt his machine, while the Supply company should furnish material and shopwork as needed. There were two tasks that the inventor set himself to perform. The first was the creation of a dynamo machine that could generate the proper amount and kind of electrical current for operating a number of lamps in a single circuit; and the second, a lamp that could successfully work upon a circuit with a large number of other lamps, so that all would burn uniformly. These things must not only be done, but accomplished in so simple a manner that the electric light, when provided in large quantities, should be cheaper than any other artificial means of lighting. Mr.

Brush entered upon his great task with a resolute purpose to accomplish it, working upon it in private and at his own convenience. When the problem that had been so long flitting through his mind was finally captured and tied down in mechanism, the greater part of the work having been done by his own hands, he carried it out to the home farm and gave it a thorough test with the horse-power there employed. Having seen it work to his satisfaction, he next took it to the shops of the Telegraph Supply company, where its coming had been awaited with a mixture of hope and anxiety. Less than two months had elapsed since the conversation recorded above. It was set up in the shop, connected by wires to an old clockwork electric lamp with carbon joints, and by a belt with the main shaft. The brushes were adjusted, the armature revolved, the current of electricity was generated, and the old lamp shed forth a brilliant light. It was a grand success on its first trial, and so perfect and complete was that first machine, born direct from the brain of its creator, that it was put to use without reconstruction or change, and was sold and is yet in regular daily use in Baltimore. In the close study of years, and in answer to the increased demands upon it, Mr. Brush has, of course, made many mechanical and electrical changes in his machine; but his invention was substantially completed and embodied in this first essay, and has not been materially departed from since.

The machine made, the next step in the gradation of success was the lamp.

Nothing could be found anywhere that was suitable to the task imposed, and after a long and fruitless search Mr. Brush returned to first principles and decided to make one for himself. He believed that he could make a satisfactory commercial lamp as well as a practical machine, and within a few weeks proved that his faith was well founded. This new lamp proved to be an invention almost equal in wonderful ingenuity and originality of construction to the machine itself. This dual triumph had been recorded before Mr. Brush was twenty-eight years of age.

The light was now ready to shine before men, and the next thing was to gain for it a hearing and make for it a market. In the manner in which this was done lay much of its chance for success, and the new illuminant had the good fortune to fall into safe and able hands. The Telegraph Supply company and its manager were the best mediums that could have been anywhere found for the labors that were to be done.

No account of the Brush light or the Brush Electric company could be written without extended mention of Mr. George W. Stockly, whose timely suggestion has been recorded above. He has been the drive-wheel of its business, and to him is due a large share of its marvelous extension and success. He had an admirable training in a business direction before coming into contact with the interests of the light. He was born in Cleveland on December 20, 1843, and received a thorough course in the Cleveland schools, and entered upon the study of law, from which he

was diverted by the death of his father, and the necessity thus laid upon him of doing something towards the support of his mother and her younger children. He entered a commission house on the river, and soon after accepted a position in the freight office of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh Railroad company. A year later he went into the office of the Cleveland Omnibus line, where he remained until 1866, when he entered the Commercial National bank, holding the position of paying-teller for five years and receiving-teller for two years. At the conclusion of this term of faithful and intelligent service he resigned to commence business life upon his own responsibility. In 1872 the Cleveland Telegraph Supply and Manufacturing company was formed, with George B. Hicks, the electrical inventor, as president. In March, 1873, Mr. John E. Cary and Mr. Stockly bought a comparatively large interest in the company. On the request of Mr. Hicks, Mr. Stockly left the bank and took general charge of the company, holding the positions of vice-president and manager. On the day the change was made Mr. Hicks had a stroke of paralysis, and in one month he died, leaving Mr. Stockly with his money and services devoted to a business of which he knew but little, and whose chief mainstay and reliance had just been removed. But he was not the one to allow an upper hand to circumstances without a contest, and he went to work quietly and steadily to master his new profession, and to study out the needs and chances lying before the science of elec-

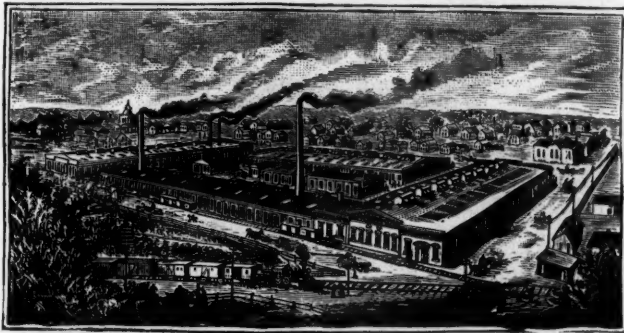
tricity that had but then commenced its real growth. In a short time Mr. Cary also died, and thus the cares and responsibilities were still more heavily laid upon the young manager. The old company was soon reorganized under the name of the Telegraph Supply company, and General M. D. Leggett, who had purchased an interest in it, was made president. The factory was removed to more commodious quarters, and a large and thriving business was soon built up. It was at this point in the career of himself and his company that Mr. Stockly and Mr. Brush came together as described above, and the Brush light had a being and assumed a position among the commercial and mechanical forces of the world. In the winter an onward step was taken when Mr. Brush and the Supply company entered into an agreement by which the latter obtained sole and exclusive right to manufacture and sell under all of the patents of the inventor, present and future, of any kind whatsoever in the line of electrical science, subject to an equitable royalty, which was at that time fixed. On the completion of the agreement with Mr. Brush, Mr. Stockly went to work with that tireless energy which is one of his marked characteristics, and pushed the new business into the market as rapidly and wisely as could be done. The wonderful growth that ensued is shown by the fact that the total sales of the company in 1878 did not exceed fifty thousand dollars, while in 1883 they were about two million dollars. In 1878 their factory was removed to a four-story block

which in 1880 was destroyed by fire, and in the next year they located in buildings of their own. They had become the possessors of six acres of land on Mason street, near the Cleveland & Pittsburgh railroad track, which was soon covered by an immense and valuable plant, in which from three to four hundred men are constantly employed. In 1880 the name of the Telegraph Supply company was changed to the Brush Electric company, to more properly describe it, as the new business had wholly swallowed up and crowded out the old. In an interesting newspaper description of the company, its business and its manager, may be found the following just and truthful tribute:

The amount of capital now invested in the electrical business, as an outcome of the parent company and the Brush light and its accessories, is estimated at over twenty-five million dollars, and the figure is growing every day. The great business which almost seems to have sprung up in a night, of course had its foundation in a wonderful invention, but that alone did not make it what it is. Without exceptional shrewdness and business skill, it could not have been what it is to-day; and it is due to a right combination of the invention, of good business management, and of an adequate amount of capital that the enterprise has become so large. Although Mr. Stockly found much aid and gained much advice in frequent counselings with the directors, especially with Mr. James J. Tracy, one of Cleveland's shrewdest capitalists, yet the skill, industry and ability of the manager were among the chief foundation stones of the structure that has been reared. He worked day and night, put his youth and energy into the labor, took risks where others advised conservatism, and has reaped his reward in an ample fortune and an assured position while yet in the prime of life. He has, by indomitable energy, indefatigable labor and persistent pluck, combined with a fine unerring judgment, worked his way up, step by step, and no man in his native city of Cleveland who has watched his career begrudges him his position or his fortune.

The works of the Brush Electric company are among the largest and most complete, the busiest and most wonderful, in a mechanical way, of any to be found in the world. The company controls all the Brush inventions and makes all the machines, lamps and other appliances that are used by the Brush system the world over, with the exception of some parts of Europe. Plans for these new works were made, contracts let, and the work commenced in 1880. Those first decided upon were for a main machine shop 265 feet long and

power is furnished by two coupled engines, with an aggregate of four hundred horse-power, a single engine of five hundred horse-power and three smaller engines. The boiler room contains six large steel boilers. In the centre of the main machine shop a space is set apart for a tool room and a stock room, and for the superintendent's office. At one corner is the works' office. The machinery throughout the establishment is of the very best that is made in the country. In the carbon department are the furnaces for the burning of the car-



THE BRUSH ELECTRIC COMPANY'S WORKS.

122 feet wide; a wing for boiler room, blacksmith shop, japanning oven, carbon factory, etc., 180 feet long, 62 feet wide; a carpenter's shop 75 by 40 feet; a lumber shed 70 by 35 feet; a tin shop 20 by 40 feet; a stable 36 by 40 feet. These buildings were nearly finished early in 1881, when it became evident that a still further increase of capacity would be demanded, and a building 350 feet by 62 feet was added for the carbon factory and brass foundry. Other additions were made later. The motive

bons, and provision is made for fifty furnaces, each of a capacity of ten thousand carbons, capable of turning out seventy-five thousand finished carbons per day. The plant for the grinding, mixing, molding, pressing, plating and packing is upon a corresponding scale. The wood-working shop, pattern room, tin shop, etc., are all provided with the most perfect appliances. The lumber shed and coke shed are especially adapted for their purpose, and are of large capacity. Soon after the erec-

tion of the main works, other additions had to be made, among them a new machine shop 210 by 120 feet. All of the structures are of brick and are substantially built, and as near fire-proof as possible. Across the street from the main building is a handsome structure,

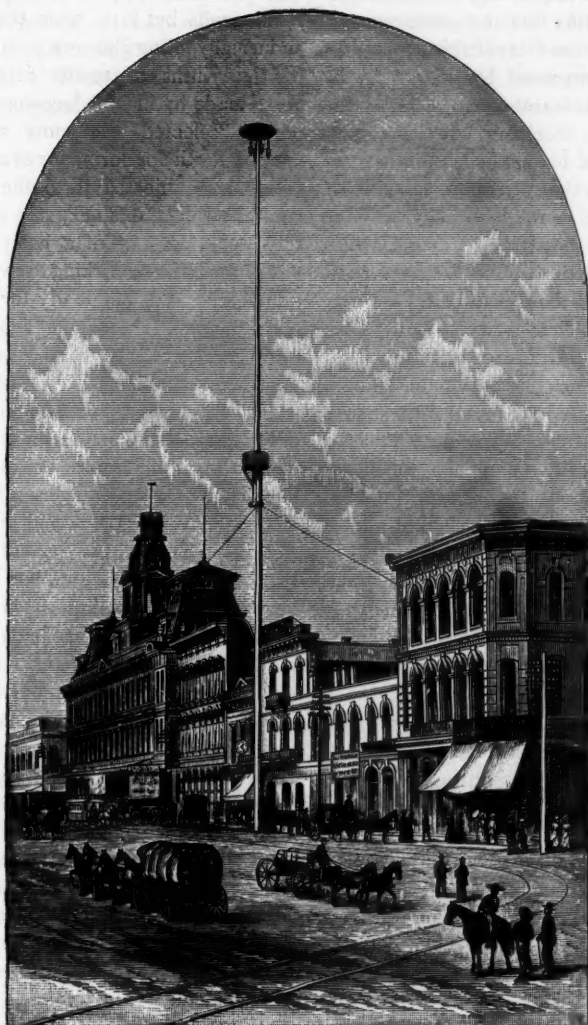
Mr. Brush usually spends from ten o'clock A. M. to five P. M. in his laboratory, busy as any man on the grounds, and thoroughly interested in his work. Among the most prominent of the inventions he has given to the world are the dynamo electric machines, electric



LABORATORY OF C. F. BRUSH, M. E. Ph. D.

built for the use of Mr. Brush as a laboratory. It is provided with every possible convenience and appliance that can help the inventor in his great work. Next to it, on Belden street, is the main business office, just now being built, and to be occupied this winter.

lamps, automatic current governors, carbons, batteries for the storage of electricity, apparatus for electro-plating, apparatus for producing power from electricity, etc. The grasp of his mind and his mental structure are of the most remarkable character, and no one can



BRUSH ELECTRIC LIGHT TOWER AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

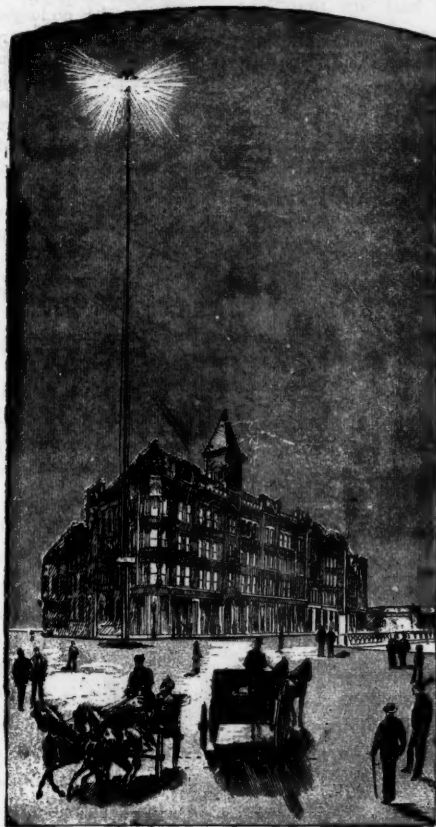
converse with him for any length of time without granting him the possession of an accurate and available scientific knowledge surpassed by that of few if any among the learned men of the world. "He is a fine mechanic" says a recent description of his methods of work, "is self-taught in that direction, and able to do any work in the shop in a manner equal to the best trained man. He is intensely practical, never sanguine, with no disposition to overestimate his work, and is an excellent business man in the management of his own affairs. So well are his keen judgment and trained skill appreciated throughout the Brush establishment, that if any one connected with it has really hit upon some clever expedient for advancing work or improving results it is with feeling almost akin to fear that it is submitted to Mr. Brush's quick glance and unerring judgment, for if there be a flaw it is at once detected. If an exceedingly delicate or accurate piece of work is to be done for the first time, he will probably do it with his own hands in his laboratory." It is a recognized fact among the pattern-makers that if a pattern, made from one of Mr. Brush's drawings, deviates by so much as a sixty-fourth of an inch from the proper size, he will discover it by his unaided eye. He will often take a pattern having parallel sides, and, glancing over it, detect a difference in parallelism of less than the sixty-fourth of an inch. On several occasions he has, with no help but the four-inch steel rule, divided off into hundredths of an inch, measured dimensions within two-thousandths of an inch, as verified by the

most delicate and exact instruments. He depends but little upon text-books, and usually follows his own path through the labyrinths of nature rather than those made by his predecessors. After having selected the most approved method for the performance of any given task, and subjected it to the keenest mental scrutiny, his next step is usually the preparing, not of a hasty sketch, but of a complete working drawing, with full details to scale, ready for the machine shop. The whole subject has been so thoroughly worked out in his mind by means of the rare faculty which he possesses, that in nine cases out of ten the very first machine or piece of apparatus made from his drawing is found to be perfect in every minute detail, and ready for actual use. The world, which has the benefit of Mr. Brush's wonderful labors, has not been backward in awarding to him a full meed of praise. He has been honored by the press of the old world and new, his light has carried his name to all the corners of the earth, and he has already become the possessor of a large fortune. He wears from Michigan University the degree of M. E. The Western Reserve University has conferred upon him that of Ph. D., while France in recognition of his services to all mankind has bestowed upon him the decoration of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. He carries these honors modestly and worthily, and is an honor to America and to the state that gave him birth.

Viewed from a purely scientific standpoint, the Brush electric light is one of the marvels and triumphs of the day.

In approaching the problem of its construction, Mr. Brush was confronted by four great difficulties, which had to be overcome: *First*, to provide an efficient and economical means of converting

regulating lamp adapted to such an electric circuit, and so constructed that any accidental disturbance of it, or its extinction, would have no effect upon the other lamps in the same circuit, the



TOWER AT CLEVELAND, OHIO.

mechanical power into electric energy; *second*, to devise a generator able to evolve an electric current capable of subdivision, to supply a series of lamps in one circuit; *third*, to invent a self-

lamp to be at the same time easy to keep in order, durable and economical in power; and *fourth*, to discover an automatic method of regulating the supply of electricity so that the current

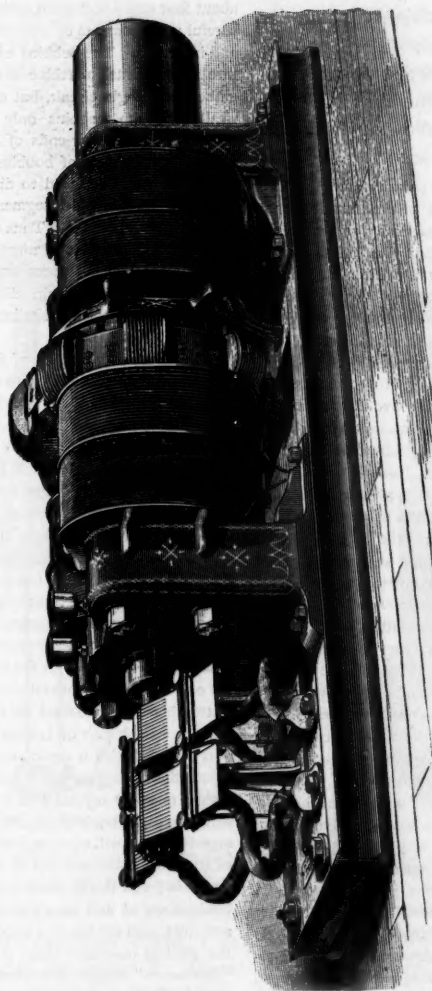
would always be exactly equal to the varying requirements of the circuit.

Other inventors had been at work upon this complex problem, and although there had been results produced here and there, no one had yet made a machine that could be called a commercial success, and nothing was done that could be set at a point beyond the experimental stage. There was no machine that could furnish a current for a number of lamps, much less sustain them in one circuit with steadiness and uniformity. On the presentation of the Brush machine to the public, so well did it fill all these requirements, that so high an authority as the *Scientific American* declared, in 1881, that "it was free from the defects of all the other systems, and the public, waiting for just such an apparatus, welcomed the new machine, and the result is that to-day the Brush electric light is practically the sole occupant of the field, at least forty-nine out of every fifty that have been sold in this country being Brush lights. An idea of the great superiority of the Brush system of lighting may be obtained from the fact that, with the largest sized Brush machine, forty powerful electric lights are burned in one circuit, with an absorption in the machine of thirty-six horse-power. We believe that no other system of lighting can maintain one-fifth of this number of lights on one circuit, and most are confined to a single light to one machine." In speaking further, the *Scientific American* said :

The genius of the inventor of this system, and the energy and good business management of the Brush

Electric Company of Cleveland, have done more since 1876 to place the business of illumination by the electric light upon a practical and substantial basis than has been done in this direction by all other inventors since the discovery by Faraday, at least so far as voltaic arc lights are concerned. In every sense the Brush electric light is a practical, commercial success, and is no longer an experiment. No better proof of this could be required than the well-known fact that no one can buy a Brush machine or lamp at less than regular prices. Makers of other machines may offer inducements of every kind, in the way of large discounts from regular prices, the privilege of a trial with no obligation to purchase, long deferred payments, etc., etc., but the Brush company takes the same ground held by George H. Corliss in regard to engines, and claims that the apparatus they furnish is no longer experimental, that it is well worth the price asked for it, and should not be compared with merely experimental systems whose principal recommendations are that they can be bought at the purchaser's own price, and may be returned if not satisfactory.

The chief peculiarities of the Brush dynamo-electric machine are embodied in the armature, the arrangement of field magnets, and the commutator. The armature consists of a flat ring of soft cast-iron revolving in its own plane. This ring is composed of two or more parts, each provided with a series of grooves, and insulated from each other, all in such a manner as effectually to prevent the induction of currents in the iron itself when it is revolved in a magnetic field. On this ring are wound eight bobbins of armature conductor, whose planes radiate from the axis of rotation. The field magnets of the machine face both sides of the armature, in the plane of its rotation; thus both sides of the flat bobbins of armature conductor are exposed to the direct inductive influence of the magnets. This arrangement of armature and magnets differs radically



BRUSH DYNAMO-ELECTRIC MACHINE.

from that adapted in the Gramme machine, the only other dynamo-electric machine of note in which an annular armature is employed. Perhaps the most complete and shortest possible description of the machine that has ever been made, is the following from the pen of Mr. Brush himself :

Field magnets of opposite polarity are applied to diametrically opposite points of the annular armature, which then consists practically of two semi-circular magnets, having their like poles joined. Each of these semi-circular armature magnets, if straightened out, would be much longer than its own diameter, and would have its bobbins wound at right angles to its axis, and covering the greater part of its length. Now it will be evident, that with a given length and weight of armature conductor, a very much greater number of convolutions may be formed on such an armature than would be possible on other armatures whose length from pole to pole is short compared with their diameter. But inasmuch as the field magnets are applied to both sides and very nearly the whole length of the long armature, the magnetic field in which the bobbins of conductor move, is quite as intense as that obtainable when any other form of armature is employed, and perhaps more so, hence the electro-motive force of current obtainable with an armature conductor of given resistance is, *ceteris paribus*, very much greater with this form of armature than with any other. For a practical demonstration of this let us consider the Brush machine known as size number 7. In this machine the resistance of the armature conductor measured through the brushes on the commutator (the resistance is the same in all positions of the commutator), is about four ohms ; in some machines a trifle more, in others a trifle less, according to the purity of the copper wire employed. When the armature is rotated at its normal speed of seven hundred and fifty revolutions per minute, in its normal magnetic field, the electro-motive force developed in its conductor is sufficient to maintain its normal volume of current through an external resistance, including the field magnets of the machine, of fully eighty ohms, or through a resistance twenty times as great as its own. No other form of dynamo-electric machine has yet shown a result comparable with this. This current operates from sixteen to eighteen powerful electric lights arranged in a single

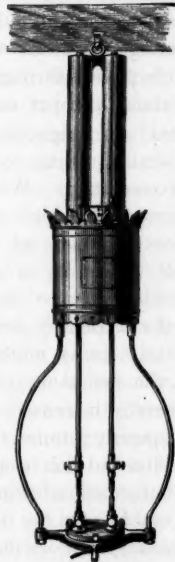
circuit, giving to each an arc of about two millimeters length. The resistance of these arcs averages about four and a half ohms each, as shown by many careful measurements of different lamps, both singly and in groups. The bobbins of wire on the armature of the Brush machine are not connected together in a single circuit, but each pair of diametrically opposite bobbins only are connected together. The two free ends of the conductor thus formed of each pair of bobbins are carried to the commutator and attached to diametrically opposite segments thereon, which segments are not connected with any other bobbins. Thus each pair of bobbins is entirely independent of any other pair. In this arrangement, which secures important advantages, the Brush machine again differs radically from the Gramme, and all similar continuous-current machines.

The commutator consists of four separate rings of metal, each ring consisting of two nearly semi-circular segments, whose ends, on one side, are separated by a considerable space. This space is occupied by a piece of metal attached to an adjoining ring, and known as an "insulator." It is insulated by an air space from each of the segments between whose ends it is located, the other ends of the segments being simply separated by a single air space. The office of the "insulator" is to separate either of the brushes which collect the currents from the commutator, from both segments during a certain interval, and twice in each revolution of the commutator. During these separations, the two bobbins of wire on the armature, which are connected with the pair of segments, are not only out of the general circuit but are open circuited themselves, so that no current can circulate in them. Each pair of bobbins on the armature is thus provided with a commutator ring, and the segments of this ring occupy the angular position with regard to other segments that its bobbins occupy with regard to bobbins attached to the said other segments. It will now be seen that only one pair of armature bobbins is out of the general circuit at one time ; and this is made to occur when the said bobbins are at and near the neutral points of the armature, and are not in a condition to contribute to the general current. Now, if it were not for the "insulators" above described, the idle bobbins would afford an easy passage for the currents from the active bobbins, and thus destroy the efficiency of the apparatus.

A word as to the lamps. The pecu-

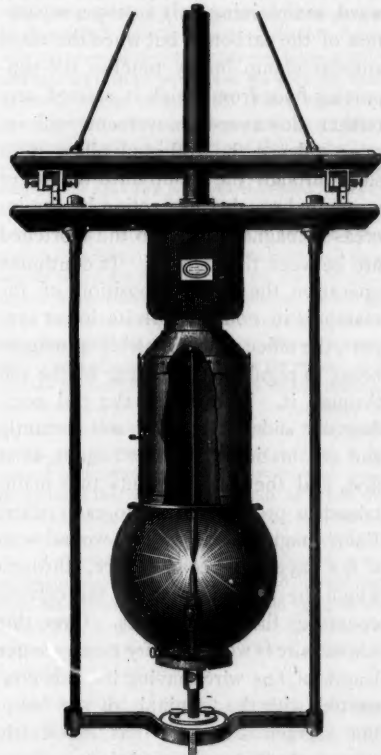
liar features of these are the great simplicity of their construction, their ease of management, safety against internal derangement, great regularity of working, the double magnet circuit conveying currents of opposite direction, by means of which any number of lamps may be operated in a single circuit without any irregularity of action; the short circuiting safety attachment, by

any switching or other special mechanism, and yet securing the maintenance of the light for any desirable length of time without requiring attention; lastly, the absence of any adjustment to be made by the attendant, other than placing the carbons. The lamp con-



ARC LAMP.

which any lamp offering an abnormally great resistance, owing to the final consumption of its carbons, or other cause, will, without any change of strength in the main current, automatically short circuit the said lamp and thus preserve the integrity of the general circuit, the multiple sets of carbons burning successively without the intervention of



SAFETY ARC LAMP.

tains no clockwork of any character, and has no complex mechanism of that kind whatever. The movement of the upper carbon, actuated by gravity, is controlled by a simple annular clamp which surrounds the rod carrying the

carbon. When the lamp is in operation one side of this clamp is lifted by magnetic action; this causes it to grasp and raise the rod and thus separate the carbons. As the carbons burn away the magnetic action diminishes, and the clamp and rod move gradually downward, maintaining only a proper separation of the carbons; but when the tilted annular clamp finally touches the supporting floor from which it started, any further downward movement will at once release the rod and allow it to slide through the clamp until the latter is again brought into action by the increased magnetism due to the shortened arc between the carbons. In continued operation the normal position of the clamp is in contact with its lower support, the office of the controlling magnet being to regulate the sliding of the rod through it. If, however, the rod accidentally slides too far, it will instantly and automatically be raised again, as at first, and the carbon points thus maintained in proper relation to each other. Each magnet helix is first wound with a few layers of coarse wire, through which the main portion of the current operating the lamp passes. Over this coarse wire is wound a very much greater length of fine wire, having its ends connected with the terminals of the lamp, but in such a manner that the electric current shall pass through it in a direction opposite to that in the coarse wire helix. Thus the fine wire forms a secondary circuit of high resistance through the lamp, which circuit is independent of the arc between the carbons, and is always closed. It follows from the dif-

ference in direction of the current in the two helices, that the fine wire helix will constantly tend to neutralize the magnetism produced by the coarse wire or principal helix. The number of convolutions of the fine wire helix and its resistance are so proportioned to the number of convolutions in the principal helix and its resistance, together with that of the normal voltaic arc, that the magnetizing power of the latter shall be much greater than that of the former. Notwithstanding the small amount of current which passes through the fine wire helix (about one per cent. of the whole current) its magnetic power is very considerable, owing to its great number of convolutions. When a number of regulators provided with these double helices are operated in a single circuit, great uniformity of action will be maintained, owing to the peculiar function of the secondary helix. Thus when any lamp gains more than its normal arc, the resistance of its main circuit is thereby increased, more current is consequently shunted through its secondary helix, and the resultant magnetism is diminished, allowing the carbons to approach. On the other hand, if an arc becomes too short, its resistance is reduced and less current is shunted through the corresponding secondary helix, consequently the working magnetism in that lamp is increased and its carbons are drawn further apart. Thus it will be seen that, although the general strength of the current operating a large number of these lamps does not vary, each lamp performs its regulating functions through the agency of varying

magnetism, precisely as though it were the only lamp being operated. The carbons employed in these lamps are covered with a thin coating of copper, and are twelve inches long. They burn without renewal about eight hours, during which time about nine and a half inches of the positive and four inches of the negative are consumed. A notable feature of the Brush lamps is the absence of any adjustment requiring the attention of the user; he has but to insert the carbon, and the lamps are always ready for action. From the peculiar nature of the Brush system of lighting arise very important advantages over other systems, in the great ease with which the lights may be operated a long distance from the dynamo-electric machine, and the small loss of effect occasioned by so doing. When a separate dynamo-electric machine is employed for each light, according to the systems which appear in the past to have been most in favor in England or France, or when the same machine furnishes several currents, each operating a light, then each lamp must be independently connected with the machine, and the whole loss of current occasioned by the resistance of the pair of conducting wires must fall upon each single lamp. There must also be as many complete sets of conductors as there are lamps. In the Brush system one pair of conductors is sufficient for all the lamps, no matter what their number may be, and the loss due to these conductors falls not on each lamp, but is equally divided among all. The largest Brush machine now made

for arc lighting generates a current for sixty-five lamps of two thousand candle power each, and absorbs about forty-five horse power. So much for the machine and lamp. Of Mr. Brush's researches in the storage field, a recent newspaper publication says:

In so important a field for invention as the storage of electricity, it is not to be expected that Mr. Brush, who has accomplished such apparent impossibilities and marvels in other portions of the electrical field, could be idle or uninterested. For a number of years past he has been hard at work in this direction, overcoming first one difficulty and then another, and all the time refraining from any statements on the subject, and from any promises as to what he hoped to accomplish. He is entirely familiar with what has been done by Faure and others in this field, and now, having fully completed his researches and thoroughly tested his invention, he, for the first time, makes the statement that, by his method, the storage of an indefinite amount of electricity, for an indefinite time, ready for use at any moment, is as easy and certain of accomplishment as the regular production of electricity by his dynamo-electric machine. His inventions go very far beyond that of Faure or any other inventor whose labors have been made public, and they really leave little or nothing to be desired or accomplished. No better evidence could be adduced that Mr. Brush intends to retain the proud eminence he has gained, as the foremost inventor and discoverer in the field of electric light, than is afforded by the fact that notwithstanding the enormous revenue he has received and is receiving from his former inventions in electric light, he has been willing to spend many hours of every day for years past to work out this most difficult problem to a satisfactory conclusion.

In the field of incandescence lighting, the Brush Electric company is very prominent, and this promises to be one of the most important parts of their business. Mr. Brush is also just completing his work on an electric motor, for which a large demand is springing up. In all departments of work in which electricity is used, the company

intends to keep ahead of the times, as they have done heretofore.

The extension of the Brush system has been marvelous, and so strong a hold has it taken on the world that in cities all over this continent it has come into such common use as to attract no attention, and the brilliant light it sheds on the public squares and streets is now commented upon only as it contrasts with the semi-darkness of such thoroughfares as are lighted by other means. It is in use in mills, mines, factories, stores, hotels and public buildings the country over. Its day of trial and criticism was long since

passed, and its triumph is assured and permanent. Its brightness is seen in every country on the European continent. It shines in India, China, Japan, South America, Australia, Egypt, South Africa and the isles of the sea. Steamboats on the oceans and the great rivers are making constant use of it. The war vessels of the British Royal navy are lighted by it. It has made strong headway in Mexico and Central America. In short, it has been adopted wherever civilization has a foothold, and has become one of the great needs as it is one of the wonders of the age.

J. H. KENNEDY.

SOME LESSONS OF HISTORY.

IN the frequent discussions now-a-days as to what ought to constitute the collegiate course of study, the advocates on one side assume that if they can show that the study of "humanities" is the proper course for education, it will follow as a matter of course that the classic languages should be the basis. It is fortunate indeed that, in a superficial study of these languages, one cannot fail to get some sort of an idea of the literature, and to acquire a considerable notion of the historical development of the Greek and Roman people. And this leads to the remark that, if the proper study of mankind is man, nowhere can so much be learned as in history. This will be assented to by the majority of men, who, whether college

bred or not, are educating themselves. The great attention paid to historical studies outside of the schools and colleges is evidence of this belief. The existence of so many local historical societies, of the American Historical association and its annual meetings, the publication of several historical magazines, of which the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* is a type; the extent and range of the historical courses of the Chautauqua literary and scientific circle—all these go to show the deep and wide curiosity as to what has been done by man. And there can be no question but that the interest is rightly directed, and it is especially gratifying that in our community—the youngest of the highly civ-

ilized nations—there should be the desire not only to learn everything about our own nation and land, but also to know what has been done by the older countries that have preceded us in the march of civilization. Nothing, likewise, can be better adapted to the making of good citizens. Most Americans, who are well read in history, are ready to affirm that, so far as having a good system of government is conducive to happiness, their lines have fallen in pleasant places. If one were to name the period of history during which men generally were most happy and prosperous, he could hardly fail to designate our country as the place, and the time as that from the adoption of our constitution to the present, making the exception of the twenty years from 1850-70, when the slave power became arrogantly aggressive, when the civil war took place, and comprising the first period of reconstruction. Gibbon thought the epoch from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus (96-180, A. D.) under the Roman Empire, was the one during which the human race had the most blessings; but it was not given to him to see the growth of the great western republic, for his first volume was published in the year of the Declaration of Independence, and the important portion of his history finished the year of the surrender of Yorktown. It would seem, if we could preserve all the advantages which we have indefinitely in the future, that we had united the highest civilization to a government of the people by the people, and to a well-being of the masses, in a

greater degree than has ever before been known. It goes without saying that society is now dependent for its prosperity on, at any rate, tolerably good government—that from our standpoint good government must at least comprise protection of life and property, freedom of the person, and a share in the choice of our governors. Now, the study of history shows us how other nations have failed to preserve their liberty or their security, and it may be an aid to us to avoid the rocks on which they made shipwreck. As Thucydides, the first critical historian, said, "The true scheme of history is to recount and interpret the past as a rational aid towards prevision of the future."

The history of Greece is, in the words of Mr. Edward A. Freeman, "the beginning of things for the political historian, for the historian of man in his highest form." When we ponder on the story of the Grecian people we are at first amazed that, having at the start so few of the arts of civilization, they were able to make such brilliant use of what they had, and to originate such a store of knowledge and create such a fund of intellectual experience. From the time we know them historically, the Homeric poems are for them history, poetry and religion. The matchless progress of this people, whom Mr. Freeman calls our "intellectual fathers," will always be a theme for the historical student. But, after all, one cannot cease to wonder that this same people, who had the intellectual power and patriotism to do so much, should have failed to preserve their liberty and

their country. The government of Athens, at the height of her prosperity, was that of a wise democracy, in which each citizen had a direct voice in the government. The people identified inseparably the maintenance of property with their laws and institutions. The intellectual average of the Athenian citizen, according to Mr. Freeman, was higher than that of the average representative in any modern political assembly. In religious matters the Athenians were distinguished for comparative mildness and tolerance, as compared with Christian countries, till a late date. They were noted for a remarkable combination of energy and discipline. They were taught in youth to think, speak and act, and the result of this education displayed itself in two veins of intellectual movement—one towards active public business, and the other towards speculative truth. Their jury and judicial system secured even-handed justice, and Mr. Grote is authority for the statement that a man for a state offence would have had a better chance for a fair trial at Athens in the time of Pericles than anywhere to-day, save in England and United States, and better than in England down to the seventeenth century. These are characteristics of a brave, free people who had known how to win freedom; and had they been acquainted with the principles of representative government and federation, their history would have unquestionably been far different. The former principle was unknown to republican Rome as well as to Greece; although the latter system was sometimes enter-

tained, and to a certain extent adopted, yet as it was not combined with the modern idea of representation, any federal scheme attempted was unsatisfactory and of short duration. The Athenian confederation, formed after the repelling of the Persian invasion, in the early part of the fifth century B. C., would have been placed on a more solid and secure basis had these modern ideas found any place in the Greek mind. Mr. Grote, however, shows that the growth of such notions was beyond the range of probabilities. He says:

Nothing short of force will efface in the mind of a free Greek the idea of his city as an autonomous and separate organization. The village is a fraction, but the city is a unit, and the highest of all political units, not admitting of being consolidated with others into a ten or hundred, to the sacrifice of its own separate and individual mark.*

Nevertheless, Mr. Grote thinks that after the Peloponesian war, when the Athenian empire had been annihilated, and the whole of inland Greece, except Argos and Attica, was enrolled in a confederacy dependent on Sparta, the time was propitious and the circumstances favorable for the organization of a federative system. Had Lysander, who wielded a greater power than any individual Greek before or after him, had the breadth of mind and statesmanlike ideas that Pericles possessed, this might have been accomplished; but he was more anxious for personal glory and power than for the good of the country, and the Greek world remained what it had always been in one shape or another—a system of dependent communities hating their chief, or a lot of in-

*Grote's History of Greece, a Vol. iii., p. 466.

dependent cities, jealous of one another and continually at war. Later on, the Achæan league was a federative system, something like the plan of union instituted by the Articles of Confederation in our country. The several cities banded together in a union for mutual support and defence, but as each city had but one vote in the general council, the scheme was unfair to the larger cities like Sparta, Corinth, Argos and Ellis, who each had no greater voice than the very small communities. The days of the Achæan league were those of declining patriotism and energy, and there was lack of virtue in the people as well as imperfections in the plan of government, so that its influence was fleeting. And when the Romans came to conquer Greece, such was the Hellenic enthusiasm in the sister nation, that they would have gladly given her freedom, but the degeneracy of the country was such that it would have availed her nothing.

One feature of the Greek communities cannot fail to strike the modern mind with force, and that is the small population of the cities. Athens, the most important of all, had in her greatest prosperity but one hundred thousand inhabitants, of which fourteen thousand were citizens. It is the appreciation of this fact that enables us to understand how the most weighty questions of state, such as the decision of peace, war and alliances, could be resolved in a meeting of the whole community; or, as we should say, in a town meeting. Nothing could be a purer democracy than such a system.

Many reflecting persons have undoubtedly felt at times during the past few years that things were going badly; that the eager desire for money was sapping the foundations of public and private virtue; that the many financial defalcations and breaches of money trust seemed to show as if honesty were departing from us; and that the apparent ease with which members of legislatures were bribed appeared to indicate that every man had his price. Despondency may in a measure give way to complacency when we come to reflect on a peculiar phase of Greek life and to see to how great an extent bribery pervaded the body politic. Few of the leading men of Greece were without some taint on their reputation for pecuniary probity; the prominent men were usually open to a bribe in judicial matters, and it was quite a common thing for the general of an army to be corrupted so that he would not give battle to a weaker enemy, or in order to allow a beaten foe to retire from the field without a vigorous pursuit. Even Pericles, the greatest of all Greek statesmen, was fined for pecuniary malversation. Nor was it any better in republican Rome. There were few men in official position during the last hundred years of the republic to whom one could not offer money. Says Dr. Mommsen, speaking of the year 108 B. C.:

It was now not merely notorious but, so to speak, judicially established, that among the governing lords of Rome everything was treated as venal—the treaty of peace and the right of intercession, the rampart of the camp and the life of the soldier.*

Using official positions for the pur-

* Mommsen's 'History of Rome,' Vol. iii, p. 198.

pose of personal aggrandizement was common even in earlier times; for, said the elder Cato:

He who steals from a burgess, ends his days in chains and fetters; but he who steals from the community, ends them in gold and purple.

It is the tendency of the human mind to exaggerate the evils of the present. We hear now a great deal said about the exclusively commercial character and mercenary spirit of the age, about the overpowering influence of money, about the greed for gain that takes possession of so many men. Indeed, to read many of these sermons and homilies, one might think that in no age before ours had the love for money been so strong, and the love for wealth such an overmastering desire, and that mammon was the god of America and of our generation. But it was far worse in Rome during the last years of the republic. Then in the words of Dr. Mommsen:

To be poor was not merely the worst disgrace and the worst crime, but the only disgrace and the only crime; for money the statesman sold the state, and the burgess sold his freedom; the post of the officer and the vote of the jurymen were to be had for money; for money the lady of quality surrendered her person as well as the common courtesan; falsifying of documents and perjuries had become so common that in a popular poet of this age an oath is called the "plaster for debts." Men had forgotten what honesty was; a person who refused a bribe was regarded not as an upright man, but as a personal foe.*

The contemplation of a state of society, of which the above is a picture, will not fail to prepare one for its destruction. It is, indeed, a mighty change from the early days of the commonwealth, when frugality, industry and patriotism were the characteristics of the

Roman; when the state was to the burgess what the Roman father was to his son; when the citizen was equally capable of holding his plough in the field or bearing his spear in the ranks, and when he performed his civic duties in the forum with vigilance and discretion. Nothing illustrates better the pluck of this people in adversity than the incident that occurred during the invasion of Hannibal into Italy. The ground upon which the Carthaginian general pitched his tent, near Rome, was immediately sold at an adequate price at public auction in the city. But the continued struggle between the aristocracy and the lower orders, and the conflict between the rich and the poor, involved the country in civil war, so that for fifty years (128-78 B. C.) there was almost constant revolution. At one time the democrats would be in the ascendancy, and proscriptions and executions of their opponents, with confiscations of their property, was the natural result. Then there would be a conservative reaction, and when in their turn the aristocrats obtained power, the leaders of the popular party were killed or banished, and there was a new division of the confiscated estates. At the same time there was the rise of the city rabble, and each party vied with the other in flattery of the mob and in the amount of the distributions of corn, in order that the lazy and dissolute plebeians might eat without work and support the party that fed them best and entertained them with the most splendid shows. In such a state of society it will be no surprise to learn that the life and property

* Mommsen's 'History of Rome,' Vol. iv, p. 616.

of the burgess were no longer secure. The paramount end and aim of government were no longer realized. The Romans, who had acquired the virtues of war and government in four centuries of the laborious school of poverty, and who, by the vigorous exertion of those virtues, obtained dominion over nearly all the civilized world, were no longer able to rule themselves. By 78 B. C. the burgess had lost all share in the government, the magistrates were instruments without independence, and the civic community had broken down by its unnatural enlargement. It is especially interesting for us, because we have abolished the institution that was the destruction of Rome, to trace under the guidance of Dr. Mommsen the great and prime cause of this demoralization of society and the consequent ruin of the republic. The potent and all pervading influence was slavery. The early Roman community was a genuine farmer commonwealth—the land was divided into small farms and worked by the freeholder himself, with the assistance of his family and, possibly, a few slaves. The amount of the military service he owed to the state was based on the size of his farm—the class that had the largest farms contributed a greater proportion of their number for soldiers. The farmer's tastes were simple and his desires few. A house of his own and the blessing of children appeared the end and essence of life. The increase of wealth, however—a natural accompaniment of a growing state—gave rise to a capitalist class, whose favorite investments were land and slaves. The founding of large

estates, worked on a large scale by profitable slave labor, made it impossible for the small farmer to compete with his more powerful neighbor, and thus was ruined the class who, of all others, was the mainstay and prop of the commonwealth. The result of the growth of wealth in connection with the extension of slavery is thus graphically described by Dr. Mommsen:

Riches and misery in close league drove the Italians out of Italy and filled the peninsula partly with swarms of slaves, partly with awful silence. It is a terrible picture, but not one peculiar to Italy; whenever the government of capitalists in a slave state has fully developed itself, it has desolated God's fair world in the same way. As rivers glisten in different colors, but a common sewer looks everywhere like itself, so the Italy of the Ciceronian epoch resembles substantially the Hellas of Polybius, and still more decidedly the Carthage of Hannibal's time, when, in exactly similar fashion, the all-powerful rule of capital ruined the middle class, raised trade and estate farming to the highest prosperity, and ultimately lead to a hypocritically whitewashed, moral and political corruption of the nation. All the arrant sins that capital has been guilty of against nation and civilization in the modern world remain as far inferior to the abominations of the ancient capitalist states as the free man, be he ever so poor, remains superior to the slave; and not until the dragon seed of North America ripens will the world have again similar fruits to reap.*

And in another place, speaking on the same subject, Dr. Mommsen says:

When once the slaveholding aristocracy in Virginia and the Carolinas shall have carried matters as far as their congeners in Sullan Rome, Cæsarism will there be too legitimized in the view of the spirit of history.

This passage is thus explained in a note on the same page:

When this was written—in the year 1857—no one could foresee how soon the mightiest struggle and most glorious victory as yet recorded in human annals would save the United States from this fearful

* Mommsen's 'History of Rome,' Vol. iv, p. 621.

trial, and secure the future existence of an absolute self-governing freedom not to be permanently kept in check by any local Cæsarianism.*

The comparison suggested above enables us in some degree to comprehend the Roman situation, by recalling the conditions of agriculture existing in the cotton states before the war. There we see in one view the magnificence and luxury of the planters, the hopeless misery of the slaves and the abject condition of the poor whites, trying to eke out a poor subsistence by working small farms, looked down upon by the negroes, and dominated politically by their rich and powerful neighbors. The likeness cannot, of course, be carried to the social, political and religious conditions, but that slavery would have eventually destroyed our republic, as it did the Roman, can only be denied by those who will not heed the lessons of history. If we imagine New Orleans to have been as large as Paris, and its own turbulent elements of population added to the restless spirits of the French capital, we shall have a good idea of the city on the seven hills. The republic had lasted for five hundred years, and had accomplished its mission. It was dominated by a close, selfish oligarchy; reform from within was impossible. The reform came from the outside, and was realized through the achievements of the man of destiny, Julius Cæsar. His conquest of Gaul stayed for ages the barbarian inroads; or, in the words of Dr. Mommsen, "the barbaric invasions would have occurred four hundred years before, and there would not have been the bridge

connecting the past glory of Hellas and Rome with the prouder fabric of modern history."†

Cæsar founded the empire, thus preserving society from complete anarchy, and civilization from total destruction. In his unhappily short rule he established the boundary line between civilization and barbarism, and preserved the sacred fire of learning to be handed down through opportune means to future ages. To my mind, one of the most impressive remarks recorded in history was that made by Napoleon to Goethe, when his conquering march through Germany brought him in contact with the great poet. To appreciate its force we must consider that the greatest general of modern times was talking to the foremost writer of the century, and that the subject of conversation was the greatest and most complete general and statesman of antiquity. Napoleon told Goethe he ought to write a life of Cæsar.

This work might become the principal labor of your life. In that tragedy you should show to the world how much Cæsar would have been able to do for the welfare of humanity if he had only been left the time to execute his vast plans.‡

But Cæsar lived long enough to restore order and to bequeath a system of government whose influence was a great factor in European civilization. But little more than a generation after his death, in the golden age of Augustus, Christ was born, and the founding of his religion cannot be regarded other than the great central fact around which all the events of modern history revolve.

† Mommsen's 'History of Rome,' Vol. iv, p. 349.

‡ Lewes' 'Life of Goethe,' p. 373.

* Mommsen's 'History of Rome,' Vol. iv, p. 558.

It can hardly be questioned that in an age of reasonable security and under a system of tolerable government, there were better opportunities for the propagation of a new religion than there would have been in a time of complete anarchy and social disruption. At any rate, by the time of Constantine Christianity had become a power in society, and whatever may have been the reasons for the conversion of the first Christian emperor, it is easy to see now that its adoption as the state religion would have been a wise act from motives of statecraft alone. The Pagan religion had lost its influence with all classes.

The fashion of incredulity was communicated from the philosopher to the man of pleasure or business, from the noble to the plebeian, and from the master to the menial slave who waited at his table and who eagerly listened to the freedom of his conversation. On public occasions the philosophic part of mankind affected to treat with respect and decency the religious institutions of their country.*

No Pagan cared enough for his religion to die for it, but the Christian preferred death to the adjuration of his faith. This religion might well be regarded as a prop to a decaying empire—a religion which was professed by a body of steadfast and heroic men, with a profound yet simple belief, which taught emphatically the immortality of the soul, that before had been but a philosophic dream, and whose disciples led pure and wholesome lives. The church hierarchy was a legitimate outcome of the adoption of the religion by the state; and as the church, corrupt and bad as it became, was the first element of civili-

zation in the dark and middle ages, we are indebted to it for the preservation of what learning there was in the world. When, therefore, there came the revival of learning, and modern progress began, there was ready for the student the efforts and results of the ancient philosophers, poets, historians and sages. There was no longer need of the painful and laborious task of building the foundation; it was ready for the splendid superstructure of modern research and attainment.

From Cæsar to Washington is a long step, and, although the two men stand as representatives of two ideas diametrically opposed, without the work of Cæsar it is probable that the time would not have been ripe for the work of Washington; for Cæsar and the results flowing from his works form very large links in the historical chain of sequences. The establishment of our republic and the framing of our constitution were great events, but such a scheme could only have been constructed by men well advanced in the science of government, and accepted only by a people well matured in the art of ruling themselves. Our constitutional fathers wrought wisely and well, but they left to future generations the legacy of slavery, which was the rock on which the ship of state nearly made shipwreck. Dr. Mommsen, in the passage already quoted, speaks of our civil war as the "mightiest struggle and most glorious victory as yet recorded in human annals." These are weighty and significant words, and, as the expression of a profound and philosophical Ger-

*Gibbon's 'History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' Volume I, page 572.

man historian well versed in the history of all times, deserve to be appreciated in their fullest extent and meaning by the generation contemporaneous with the war between the states. It is rare indeed that the men who make history and people who live in periods pregnant with results for future ages come to realize the importance of their actions on human destiny; and this utterance of a German scholar, living in the most studious of all lands, seems like a judgment of posterity received in advance by the generation who worked out the salvation of their country. The greatest man produced by the rebellion, Abraham Lincoln, seemed to feel in a marked degree the import of the contest. Believing, before he was called to take a guiding hand in the destinies of his country, that a house divided against itself could not stand, that the Union would become permanently all free or all slave; and in the heat of the struggle, when he had assumed powers that no executive before him had presumed to claim, he never lost sight of the fact that though slavery was at the root of the rebellion, the fate of constitutional government was at stake, and that the Union must be preserved in order "that government of the people, by the people and for the people should not perish from the earth." And in that lies the meaning of the victory and makes the event as significant for us as was our revolution, or as full of importance as was for the English the grant of the *magna charta*, or the revolution of 1688, and as great and lasting a benefit for mankind as was the Protestant

reformation. The maintenance of constitutional government and the preservation alike of liberty and order is the mission of the English speaking peoples on earth. Whatever may be the differences of Englishmen and Americans as to which nation is the better doing the work, all thinking men now cannot fail to agree that the destruction of the polity of the one would be an irreparable blow to the other. And if we have apparently solved problems that England is now grappling with, and if our outlook is more serene than hers, it must not be forgotten that never has any nation had our chance and opportunities. We started, as it were, with a clean sheet. We had no relics of the feudal system, no aristocracy and no privileges of blood; no upper, middle and lower classes. We have such a boundless extent of land that there has never been any cause for agrarian disputes that have played such a prominent part in older countries; the red men, whose land we took, are a race of barbarians that are being annihilated by contact with civilization, and thus we have avoided continual and never ending conflicts for the rightful ownership of the soil, which has been the rule when one agricultural nation has conquered another. We started a democracy—all free and equal—all having a voice in the government, all anxious for education, and, outside the slave states, no higher class afraid to have a lower class educated. On the other hand, we were heir to all that was good in European civilization. We started in an age when its highest fruits could be culled—in an age of in-

tellectual activity, of earnest inquiry, of truthful investigation—in short, in an age when the schoolmaster was abroad. We derived from England the principles of constitutional government and of common law that had been laboriously wrought out through periods of painful struggles and self-sacrificing endeavors. We are like the man in the parable to whom was given the five talents—to whom much was given and from whom much was required. But as in the eternal fitness of things every nation must have some evil to contend with, we were left with negro slavery, and the Yankee invention of the cotton gin made slave labor profitable.

It is impossible, in our present state of feeling, to recur to the war period without bearing in mind the great general, whose military genius made possible the victory for which President Lincoln so earnestly strove. While his achievements in the field were always fresh in our memories, the events of the last year of his life have given us glimpses

not had before of his simple yet noble character; and the many reminiscences from personal and intimate friends have shown a side of the man which was only imperfectly understood. We all remember that at the different times of the agitation of the third term question, the opponents of the project were fond of referring to General Grant as *Cæsar* and "the man on horseback." It will hardly be disputed that in some political and social circles favorable to the third term, the designation was accepted, and it was hardly affirmed that there comes a time in all republics when the strong man capable of wielding the sword is needed at the head of the state. We are now enabled to see that there was in General Grant no desire for what is commonly known as *Cæsarism*; that as during the war he felt himself completely subject to the civil power, so he always remained with full faith in the orderly procedure of law and was a true type of a Republican soldier who knows how to use but when to sheath the sword.

JAMES F. RHODES.

THE CITY OF THE STRAITS.

III.

AS MANY people settle in Michigan every day in the year, on an average, as comprised Cadillac's advance guard of civilization. The arrival of one hundred immigrants in Detroit would not now be considered as worth an item in the public prints. A ship or train load of

newcomers has no appreciable effect upon the political, commercial, industrial or social condition of affairs in the state. No conceivable access of numbers could now count for as much in the development of the northwest, or the records of history, as the initial settle-

ment referred to—which, unconscious of its own importance, preëmpted an empire in the name of progress, and gave direction and individuality to its manifestations. The largest accession of population possible under present conditions would be absorbed and adapt itself so readily to the established order of things, that it would seem to be without effect or influence. How strikingly different the responsibility and influence of the one hundred adventurous souls who, in the chronology of this sketch, were recently domiciled in log huts on the ground where stately Jefferson avenue buildings now rear their lofty heads! It was for them to originate and give an impulse that should be felt for generations to a new order of things—to establish forms of justice and procedure adapted to primitive life, and strong enough to command respect from the savages by whom they were surrounded. Removed as they were not only by the breadth of the ocean, but also by that of half the continent, from the source of the political, judicial and religious power they acknowledged, the experiment was even more difficult than other enterprises of the same kind in the new world. Cadillac undoubtedly had autocratic power at the outset—the power even of life and death in his hands—subject, of course, to review by the governor-general at Quebec, and ultimately by the colonial minister and king of France. But advice would only be sought and appeal taken in cases of great perplexity and importance, so that practically justice in the colony was military and

summary for the first few years of its history, and until the interests of civil life gained some degree of independence from their strength and assertive force. The evolution in this, as in other elements of growth, is worthy of much closer attention than is consistent with a descriptive sketch, and reference is made to it merely for the purpose of fixing attention upon the wholly natural and unformed state of affairs existing in and about the colony at the time of its organization, out of which, in the course of time, strength, order and magnificence were to be evolved.

Whoever chanced to look in upon Fort Pontchartrain in 1711, ten years after the founding of the colony, would have noted no such changes as would now be expected in that length of time in a new western city. The stockade had been enlarged, the area outside the fort under cultivation increased, the Indian settlements in the vicinity had grown in number and strength, the trade at the post had considerably enlarged—but there had been but slight augmentation of the number of white faces. About this time, it may be supposed, the village began to be called Detroit, a term which hitherto had signified *the straits*, applying to the water-course and shores between Lake Huron and Lake Erie. The transition from "Fort Pontchartrain on the straits" to "Detroit" was natural, easy and in every sense an illustration of the survival of the fittest in the elimination of what is redundant and unnecessary. The citizens of Detroit have reason to congratulate themselves that their city es-

caped having a name longer than that of Philadelphia, and composed of syllables as harsh as are afforded by either the French or English language. It is, perhaps, not altogether absurd to suppose that the growth of the city might have been considerably retarded if the name Pont-char-train—which the softer French pronunciation cannot make tolerable, and which in English is positively frightful—had adhered to the settlement. When Cadillac was appointed governor of Louisiana, ten years after his settlement at Detroit, the village was not in a thrifty condition, and its white population had only slightly increased, numbering at that time not more than two hundred. A north-western city that could not show a better rate of progress in these days would be looked upon as a complete failure, the more particularly so if it had been projected under government auspices, and encouraged and protected in a special manner by government authority. The difference in this respect between then and now is precisely the measure of the change that meanwhile has affected civilization everywhere. We go as far and see as much in a day as they did in ten, and their more patient spirits were content to wait ten years for what this generation must realize in one or will not have at all. But though their growth as a colony during this period of ten years did not amount to much, or give much encouragement to its founder of advantage to himself and family in his own day and generation, they performed a service of inestimable value by obstinately holding

on—unconsciously waiting for steam to revolutionize transportation and reduce by seventy-five per cent. the distance between Michigan's fertile soil and Europe's fecund population. The life of the colonists during these ten years was simple and uneventful. The fort was partially destroyed by fire in 1703, and a few small buildings were also consumed, but where there was so little to burn the conflagration could not have been great, or the loss very serious where timber was so cheap. The Indian tribes in the vicinity were friendly and of a superior class. The Pottawatomies, always faithful allies of the French, had a large village west of the fort, and were quite civilized in their manner of living. A still larger village of the same tribe was located at the mouth of the Ecorces. The Ottawas and Hurons (Wyandots) established villages on the opposite side of the river; the headquarters of the powerful and war-like Wyandots was at the mouth of the river, where Gibraltar now stands, and in that vicinity; and lesser tribes were represented by a few lodges in the neighborhood of the fort. These tribes were all of the Algonquin race, related to and dependent upon each other, and hereditary foes of the Iroquois tribes of the east and south, who usually sided with the English in Anglo-French disputes. The post was therefore well protected by a cordon of friendly camps, sufficiently strong to resist any encroachment likely to be made, and alert to detect the approach of friends or foes or suspicious persons from any point of the compass, and give warning thereof. Be-

tween the colonists and these Indians the utmost confidence existed. Had there not been a substantial foundation for this confidence the colony could not have been maintained at such a distance from its natural support. The colonists found plenty of occupation in fishing, hunting, building, and agriculture. There was no market, and, therefore, no incentive for raising agricultural products beyond their own necessities, and the presumption is that they devoted no more time to this industry than was absolutely necessary—a peculiarity that has been handed down to the French farmers along the Detroit, who to this day show more attachment, as a rule, to rod and gun and net than to the hoe and plough. The fur trade of the northwest had its headquarters here nominally, but it does not appear to have been of sufficient importance to make the colony grow. Divers influences, religious, political and commercial, were continually working against Cadillac, and he spent a considerable part of his time journeying to and fro between Detroit and Quebec, to carry explanations of his own conduct and protests against the machinations of his enemies who sought his removal. Cadillac was a man of too much force to be easily downed, and he usually succeeded in convincing the governor and colonial minister of the correctness of his views; but in the end he wearied of the struggle over trifling things, and losing something, perhaps, of his faith in the situation, resigned his position. His scheme for an empire in the northwest had fizzled, owing to causes for which he was not respon-

sible and against which he had vainly protested. It amounted, in 1711, to just what it did in 1701—a collection of not particularly inviting log houses and a stockade. Like many another man of a forceful and inventive mind, Cadillac could not wait for his reward—for the profits reaped a thousand fold by others in later years. He resigned to take a prominent part in the French schemes in Louisiana, which turned out no more profitably, and returned to France, in 1717, a great deal wiser and somewhat poorer for his thirty years of wandering service in the new world. But so far as he was individually concerned it made no difference. He could not, in the natural order of things, have lived long enough to have derived any pecuniary advantage from his investments at Detroit. He died in 1730, and in that year the village was not reputed to have a population exceeding three hundred in number. It was a mere outpost still—a fore-runner far in advance of the civilization it proclaimed. It had no power of self-expansion, depending on the caprices of changing governors and ministers for such power of endurance as it possessed. It was not until 1750, twenty years after Cadillac had been laid in his grave, that a new governor-general, Galissoniere, made an energetic effort to give the colony a "boom." He offered live stock and implements to those who would emigrate to Detroit, and this policy was so effective that the population increased to over five hundred souls during the year. Marriages and births now began to tell upon the

population, in spite of a large death rate from malarial diseases, especially among infants. This natural increase and further accessions from France and Nova Scotia, whence the English had driven the Acadians, enabled the town to make the respectable showing of two thousand inhabitants in 1760, when the Canadas, having been put up and fought for by the French and English on the plains of Abraham, became the property of Great Britain. The immediate effect of this change of ownership was disastrous to the colony. Hundreds of citizens sought protection under the French flag in Louisiana, some went to Vincennes, and others returned to their former home in the east, reducing the population to less than six hundred, at which number, or thereabouts, it remained for nearly twenty years, while the relations between the English colonies and the mother country were undergoing revolution, and even for a generation thereafter.

The formal surrender of Canada to the English was made September 8, 1760. Canada then included Michigan, and as far west as the imagination was capable of reaching. On November 29, of that year, Colonel Bellestre surrendered Detroit to Major Rogers, who had been sent from Montreal with two hundred men to take possession. A month later Rogers returned to Pittsburgh and Captain Campbell commanded the post until September 3, 1761, when Sir William Johnson, superintendent of the northern Indians and the only Englishman who ever acquired a controlling influence over the minds

of North American savages by the force of his own, arrived at Detroit at the head of a considerable military force, to hold a conference with the western tribes and arrange for the future government and protection of the town. He held a great pow wow with the Indians that continued, with interruptions, for twelve days. September 17, Johnson departed, leaving Major Gladwyn in chief command, Captain Campbell remaining in a subordinate capacity.

The change from French to English rule was distasteful to the Indians, for reasons heretofore referred to. Pontiac, the great Ottawa chief, sulked and plotted in his lodge on the opposite side of the river; and there was suppressed activity and excitement in the great Pottawotamie and Wyandot camps at Ecorse and Monguagon. This restlessness was the result of Pontiac's scheming, and continued for over a year before it culminated in open hostilities. In April, 1763, at a conference of the tribes named and others of lesser note, at Ecorse, Pontiac developed to the assembled chiefs and medicine men his scheme for a grand confederation of the Indian tribes and the overthrow of the English, not only in this part of the country but wherever they were to be found between the Mississippi and the Atlantic. He proposed to begin the work right at home. His plans were favorably considered, and Pontiac spent some days visiting the fort and examining its defenses. Early in May he called a final meeting of the chiefs at Ecorse to arrange the details of the campaign. Farmer and other historians say the

squaws were excluded from this meeting. There is, perhaps, more significance in this fact than appears upon the surface—much more than has been attributed to it. The Indians were quite as likely as the whites to believe that a squaw could not keep a secret; but no ordinary understanding of such a saying would apply to a case like this—which involved treasonable betrayal of tribe and kindred. The squaws were excluded from the camp-fire!—eloquent comment upon the relations of English pale-face officers with the more attractive Indian women who came within reach of their more cultured blandishments. The policy of the French authorities had been to encourage intermarriages with the Indians. When a Frenchman lived with an Indian woman, it was usually in pursuance of some formal ceremony or understanding, often religious, that gave some dignity and honor to the relation, and was satisfactory to the family and the tribal authorities. These contracts held good as long as the Frenchmen who made them remained in this country, and when they went away and did not return, they were looked upon as dead. The English—by which term all English speaking people then on the continent are meant to be included—had too much contempt for the Indian character and too much sturdy independence to apologize for or seek to palliate or conceal the relations *they* held with the Indian women. It was the fashion among them—especially the officers and soldiers of the regular army at frontier posts—to have Indian mistresses,

and it may readily be supposed that they affected the most attractive forms and faces that were susceptible to the influences of the cheap trinkets and apparel at their disposal. How much this insolent appropriation of the charms of Indian maidens about the frontier posts may have had to do with Indian outbreaks, who can tell? That it was general, so far as practicable, must be admitted, for a generation of half-breeds quickly attested it; and that it inflamed the Indian mind with hatred and desire for revenge, was only natural. The instinct which resents the unlawful appropriation, or even the solicitation, of the gentler sex of one race or tribe by the males of another race or tribe is one of the strongest in the animal kingdom, and common to all branches of it. Who can tell how many Indian outrages were promoted by the influence to which reference is made? In a matter of that kind, Indian blood and resentment were likely to be as hot as any. The Indian women were excluded from the camp-fire at Ecorse! If this was intended as a punishment for indiscretions in the past, the future showed how well it was deserved; if as an expression of want of confidence, the justification was soon apparent. Perchance it was undeserved in this particular instance—an unlikely contingency—retribution followed swift upon the libel.

Major Gladwyn was a *gallant*, as well as a brave soldier. He had not been long at the post before the charms of an Indian girl named Catharine, an Ojibway, came under his notice. It is not unlikely that she was a half-breed,

and she is reputed to have possessed rare beauty and exquisite form. It was an easy task for the handsome, accomplished soldier to beguile this simple maiden, unpracticed in the snares of civilization, and ignorant of the moral code. She had neither power nor inclination to resist his wooing, and became his mistress as naturally as some fair-haired English maid aforetime became his wife. She was a frequent visitor at the fort, the fact that she was under the commander's personal protection affording her free entrance at all times, and safety from insult or annoyance on the part of the soldiers. One bright May morning she brought Gladwyn a pair of moccasins, embroidered by her own loving hands, and when the time for her departure came she seemed loth to leave. She was sad of face and tearful, and even after being dismissed she remained near his apartments. Gladwyn was too much a man of the world to be greatly moved at beauty in tears, and would have paid no attention to her had he not been advised by some one better acquainted with the Indian character that she had better be questioned. Gladwyn called her back to his room, and by the exercise of lover-like and diplomatic qualities drew from the maid the details of the plot concocted in council at Ecorse—which the squaws had got hold of, although excluded from the conference. With her lover's arm around her, and under the assurance of his brave, confident words, Catharine forgot the vengeance of her tribe and her duty to it, and remembered only that her heart's chieftain was

in peril. With heaving bosom, and eyes aflame with the spirit of sacrifice for the object of her devotion, she related that Pontiac and a large number of his bravest chiefs would visit the fort in a day or two to hold a council; that they would carry rifles, sawed off midway between the lock and muzzle, under their blankets, and that at a signal from Pontiac they would massacre the garrison. The Indians calculated that their attack would be such a surprise that there would be practically no resistance on the part of the garrison, then numbering one hundred and twenty men, and that on the first onset they could throw open the gates to the hordes of savages outside the walls. Gladwyn thanked the girl, cautioned her to keep her own counsel, assured her that her betrayal of the plot would bring no harm upon her devoted head, and dismissed her. Brave man as he undoubtedly was, Gladwyn must have been appalled at the situation. No outbreak had been expected, and he was not prepared for one. The intended surprise he could defeat, but he could not sustain a prolonged siege from a determined foe, and the possibility of being reinforced in time to save the fort was remote. But what he had to do he set about doing in a thorough, orderly manner. Two days later, when Pontiac and sixty chiefs arrived to talk with Gladwyn, they found the one hundred and twenty soldiers drawn up in the council room, every man with his finger on the trigger of his gun and every officer armed and alert. Pontiac could not be sure that he had been betrayed, but he did not

dare to give the signal for fear his whole aggregation of Indian treachery and malignity would be blown to kingdom come before the gates could be opened to let in his horde of savage followers. He smothered his rage and addressed Gladwyn in words of peace, receiving the peaceful reply with such grace as he could muster, and departed to inaugurate within a week the Pontiac war and siege of Detroit.

And what became of the Indian girl whose loyalty to her white lover prevented the massacre? It is said by one writer that Pontiac suspected her and brought her to Gladwyn for identification, and gave her a beating with his own hands. This is, to say the least, unlikely. That the girl was suspected is possible; that she was beaten is probable, for she was a squaw; but proof was impossible, and Pontiac would have brained her with his tomahawk had he deemed any punishment called for or justified. She lived, at all events, long enough to illustrate the total depravity of the sex when once it starts on the downward road, by getting drunk on sundry and divers occasions, and ending her career, during one of these periods of spiritual exaltation, by falling into a kettle of boiling maple syrup.

Pontiac made a pretense of peaceful intentions for a few days, and twice obtained interviews with Gladwyn. On the last of these occasions he demanded that all his braves should be admitted to the fort, and on being refused departed, threw off all disguises, and inaugurated one of the most obstinate and momentous sieges in the history of

the country, which lasted without interruption from May 8, 1763, to October 12 in the same year, when a truce was declared that made it safe for the garrison to venture beyond gunshot of the stockade. It was the first really warlike experience in the sixty-four years' history of the town, whose inhabitants had heretofore lived on terms of amity with the aborigines, and whose allegiance had been transferred from France to England without rude shock of arms in this vicinity. Pontiac staked his all upon the siege. He confidently expected assistance from the French in Louisiana. He could not understand how such a little matter as a treaty of peace with England should stand in the way of his getting arms and supplies, at least, from the French; and it appeared to him to be a glaring proof of ingratitude and stupidity that the French did not warmly second his efforts to annihilate the English. He made a desperate effort to confederate all the tribes of the northwest, and as far south as Missouri, in a crushing attack upon the English-speaking inhabitants of the country, commencing at Detroit. This scheme only lacked French encouragement to make it succeed, so far as organization was concerned. The tribes agreed, if the French would take part; but the governor of Louisiana discountenanced the whole proceeding, and his countrymen in lower Canada would not as much as listen to any such suggestion. But meanwhile Pontiac was prosecuting the siege with all the ardor of his savage nature. The English colonial authorities realized the importance of the position, and the ne-

cessity for reinforcing the post with men and supplies. Gladwyn's first call for support must have been made before hostilities commenced, for about the middle of May one hundred and twenty soldiers and boatmen, conveying ammunition and provisions to Detroit, were attacked by the Indians at Point Pelee, on Lake Erie, and two-thirds of the number were killed or taken prisoners. The forty who escaped made their way back to Niagara. On May 30 the prisoners and the captured boats were gleefully paraded before the eyes of the besieged by the exultant savages. The prisoners were tortured and burned at the stake, this horrible entertainment being prolonged for weeks until the material was exhausted. A full month passed and no signs of succor or intelligence thereof had appeared. Provisions were almost exhausted, and had the foe been other than Indians, a surrender would probably have been made. But death, even by starvation, was preferable to falling into the hands of the Indians, and the garrison held out. They were rewarded, on June 30, by the arrival of sixty soldiers on the schooner *Gladwyn*, with a large quantity of flour and other provisions. The *Gladwyn* had been detained ten days in the river by adverse winds, and had repulsed several attempts of the Indians, who suffered heavy losses, to capture her. Defeated in their design to starve out the garrison, they tried to burn the vessels in the river, under the guns of the fort, with fire rafts. They surrounded the fort on all sides, controlled both sides of the river, and exhausted their devilish ingenuity

in devising and executing schemes for the annoyance and injury of the imprisoned garrison. The fort and its occupants were delivered from pressing danger on July 29, by the arrival of Captain Dalzell and Major Rogers with twenty-two barges, two hundred and eighty soldiers, several cannon and a large amount of provisions. All would now have been well and secure had not Gladwyn's judgment been overcome by the valor of Dalzell and Rogers, who insisted upon attacking the Ottawa camps, up the river, in the night, expecting to surprise and rout Pontiac and his whole force. But the soldiers were themselves surprised and defeated on the banks of Bloody run, with a loss of twenty-one killed and thirty-eight wounded, Dalzell himself atoning for his error with his life. "The Pontiac tree," near the Michigan stove works, for generations marked the scene of this conflict. It was a whitewood, and continued to show signs of life until the summer of the present year. Other reinforcements quickly followed, the only trouble now being to find provisions to feed them. The Indians withdrew from the vicinity as winter approached, the Wyandots and Pottawatomies had already made peace, and the siege of Detroit may be said to have ended, although the garrison was not actually relieved until August, 1864, when Bradstreet's army of twelve hundred men reached Detroit, its mission being to punish and overawe the tribes who were still influenced by Pontiac. This demonstration of what the English could do in an emergency satisfied the

Indians that the French had gone for good, and they accepted the situation by suing for peace. Before doing this Pontiac made a last effort to unite all the tribes of the country in a final struggle, and failing therein he accepted terms of peace at Detroit, in August, 1765. Four years later he was assassinated in a cowardly manner by an Illinois Indian, whom an Englishman bribed to do the murderous deed, the consideration being a barrel of whisky. The murder was committed on the site of the city of St. Louis, and led to a long and bloody war against the Illinois by the tribes who had listened to Pon-

tiac's eloquence and been influenced by the vigor of his mind. The shock of this encounter was echoed to Detroit, and created some apprehension, but the alarm soon passed away to trouble this vicinity no more. It was the longest siege ever carried on, without intermission, by the Indians. Detroit was the most remote of the important western posts—in point of difficulty in reaching, if not in miles—and she was the only one that held out until peace was effected with the Indians. That she was beset by the greatest Indian warrior of the age, is only another proof of the skill and valor of her defenders.

HENRY A. GRIFFIN.

PIONEER MEDICINE ON THE WESTERN RESERVE.

III.

THE INFLUENCE OF PHYSICIANS IN SOCIETY.

THE position held by the early physicians on the Western Reserve was very influential, far more so than that held by any class of men at the present day. They shared this in common with the lawyers and ministers, and perhaps their impress upon communities was second to neither of these.

In the churches first erected the people gathered from far and near, and in many communities there were very few who were not attendants upon divine service. This was true even in winter, when the churches were without fires, and when the only source of warmth

was the foot stoves, filled from the heaped fireplace of some one living near the church.

The sessions of court at the county-seats were also largely attended, and people gathered from a whole county to hear the lawyer plead in any celebrated case.

The relation of the physician to the community was a more personal one than that of either minister or lawyer, and while less prominent and public, was perhaps equally influential. Riding over several townships, as was the case in the practice of the earliest physicians, and entering, during a single year, almost every house, and some of them

frequently, the physician knew personally every member of the community, young and old, and came to understand their individual characteristics and surroundings.

Newspapers were few, and local papers were unknown, while the exchange of letters was infrequent, postage being very expensive. No one knew so thoroughly everything which concerned a community as the physicians.

Dr. Burton of Collamer, speaking of his father, who was a noted Democrat, remembers in a close campaign the candidate coming to ask his father whether or no he could be elected. Hon. Harvey Rice, speaking on the same subject, says that the physicians were, perhaps, better informed and more influential in politics than any other class of men. It was not at all uncommon for them to fill certain public positions. They were not unfrequently postmasters, county treasurers or commissioners, and many of the prominent physicians were elected one and two terms as state representatives or senators.

In matters of education, also, they took a prominent part. They, with the ministers and lawyers, were almost the only well educated residents of the country, and consequently these men were best fitted to superintend education.

Especially prominent in this field was Dr. O. K. Hawley of Austinburg, to whose personal efforts and means were due, in a large degree, the founding of Grand River institute, at Austinburg, Ashtabula county. Many of the physicians, too, were enthusiasts in botany.

This was in some degree a necessity, as will be shown hereafter. They drew largely for their medicines upon the native plants and roots, and they must be able to recognize these in order to collect them safely. Beside, they made a study of the virtue of various native plants, and among the early medical works may be found discussions as to the properties of these plants. Some of these are still used, while others have been superseded by foreign plants of similar action, but perhaps greater efficiency. Geology, too, was a common study, as was also natural history in all its departments, and many physicians' offices and houses were to be found stored with specimens which they had gathered in their rides.

While many men might be mentioned who are thus interested in the natural sciences, no one attained the knowledge or reputation of Dr. Kirtland, formerly of Poland, Mahoning county, and later of Cleveland. More recently Dr. Newberry, formerly a physician of Cleveland but now a professor of Columbia college, New York City, has attained a national reputation.

The study of botany, already mentioned, led physicians to a love of horticulture in all departments. Their yards and gardens were often the best supplied with shrubs and flowers of any in the community, and they took great pains in securing and distributing valuable seeds, beautiful flowering plants, fruit trees and berries of various sorts.

Dr. Long of Cleveland, was thus especially interested in the cultivation of fruit, and as has been well said by Prof.

Newberry, in speaking of Doctor Kirtland, "The farmers of Ohio have special cause to be grateful to him. He sought out the varieties of fruit best adapted to the climate, and when after tedious experiments their value had been demonstrated, seeds, slips and young trees were scattered freely and gratuitously over the country."

In the anti-slavery movement, the physicians, with many others, were strongly interested, and several might be mentioned who were prominent conductors on the underground railroad.

Without stopping to trace out all the fields in which physicians labored, it is evident that their influence must have been great in many ways. Being among the best educated men, knowing personally everyone, and riding constantly over the whole country, their influence for good or bad could not but be felt. Not all physicians were cultured; many were far from it; but as a class their influence was for good, reaching not only things which have been mentioned but other interests such as pertained to the general health of communities, which were of vast importance. We refer to the means of combatting malaria, which was the chief source of disease. Lack of drainage, streams dammed up and stagnant, either for slack water navigation or milling purposes, and the building of canals, together with the breaking up of a virgin soil, produced malarial influences of the most virulent sort. This dangerous malady rendered whole sections uninhabitable, or when it arose sometimes almost depopulated what had been prosperous communities. To meet

and overcome these difficulties was a task coming more upon the physicians than upon any other class of citizens, so that from a care of cases of individual sickness, their profession called them to the supervision of the sanitary condition of a whole community.

IV.

BIOGRAPHY.

In speaking of the history of individuals, it is to be regretted that a more full and accurate record of the pioneer physicians cannot be obtained. Of some who were most prominent and useful in the earliest days scarcely more than the name remains, and to find anything like an accurate record of them has been found impossible, even though much pains have been taken and a large correspondence carried on for this purpose. Thus if the descendants of some physicians should find the record of their ancestors incomplete, and possibly incorrect, their indulgence is craved, since the following sketches have been written amid professional cares and many interruptions, without interest or reward of any sort, save that felt in preserving from entire forgetfulness a record of men, many of them self-sacrificing and noble, to whom we owe a debt of gratitude, at least, so great that their services should not be forgotten. Among the heirlooms of the writer are a pair of saddle-bags, worn and antiquated, that were, for perhaps a score of years, carried with their complement of drugs to be distributed in a practice over an immense territory. There are also old-

fashioned turnkeys that have twisted from their sockets multitudes of teeth, there are thumb-lancets that have bled numberless patients, and forceps that have ushered into being several generations. Among our earliest recollections are these same old saddle-bags, hung across the knee, while from one side were dispensed liquids and pills and from the other various roots. One of our privileges was to aid in rolling the pills that should help to fill these bags, and night after night we have sat before an open fire and heard one of the pioneer physicians tell of the early days, mingling with the tales of hardships and exposure encountered in professional practice, the stories of settlers, hunters, Indians, and the heroes of Cooper, until the mind was filled with a medley of Leatherstocking, Daniel Boone, Dr. Coleman, General Perkins, "Grandma Kinsman" and Dr. Long, all equally real and equally mythical, while behind our armed chairs crouched wolves, or, still more dreadful, panthers, ready to seize upon and devour whoever should be foolhardy enough to venture beyond the rockers. The diary of Judge Kirtland mentions two physicians—Dr. Wilcox of Vernon, and Dr. Adams of Beaver. The settlements on the Ohio river were earlier than on the Reserve, and physicians were thus called from thence into what is now Mahoning county. Very prominent among the early physicians in the southern part of the state was Dr. S. P. Hildreth, who came to Marietta about 1805. In 1839 he delivered before the medical convention of Ohio a valedictory address on retiring

from the presidency, which is the most reliable record of early epidemics, climate and medical matters which we have discovered. The address was printed in the reports of the convention, and considering the difficulties under which the observations on which it is based were made, it is truly a remarkable production, disclosing an amount of knowledge and careful observation which mark its author as a man of unusual mental strength, physical endurance and energy.

Dr. Wilcox settled in Vernon, being preceded there by Dr. Amos C. Wright, who in 1800 came to Ohio in company with General Smith, General Perkins and Mr. Kinsman.

Dr. Wright was a native of Winstead, Connecticut, and studied medicine with Doctor Miner of that place, being licensed to practice in 1799. He had to depend entirely upon his own exertions for his education. After remaining two years in Vernon, and teaching school one winter, he returned to Connecticut, where he married the daughter of Rev. Aaron Kinnie, pastor of the church at Groton at the time when New London was burned, and the defenders of Fort Griswold were massacred by the British, led by Arnold. In one day over ninety were made widows in this minister's congregation. In 1804 Dr. Wright returned to Vernon, then called Smithfield, where he remained until 1808, at which time he removed to Tallmage, then belonging to Portage, but now in Summit county. Here he practiced medicine until his death in

1834, being the first physician to practice in the county. Three months after his settlement was born a son, the first male child born in the county, the present Dr. Amos Wright, who succeeded to his father's practice in 1836, to be followed in turn by his son, Dr. S. St. John Wright.

Dr. Wright's hardships in early practice were extreme. At one time while in Vernon he wished to cross Pymatuning creek, when its banks were full and the stream was filled with floating ice, the nearest bridge being three miles distant. He decided to swim the creek. Removing his clothing, he held it with his saddlebags above his head in one hand, and pushing his horse into deep water, swam with the reins of the bridle about his neck to the opposite shore. Often his rides took him through unbroken forests with perhaps no land-marks, or at most an Indian trail or the trees blazed by the surveyor to mark township lines, while at night the only guide was the stars, and at times losing his way he would be obliged to wait for daybreak before proceeding further.

At the date of his settlement in Tallmage his nearest neighbor was three miles distant. His log cabin had only a blanket for a door, and regarding this insufficient protection for his wife and two little girls against the wolves, which were very abundant, he made a door of slabs split from a straight-grained butternut tree and finished with a plane, there being no sawmill nearer than thirty miles. A little later a calf was killed close by the house, and a calfskin nailed

to this same door to dry was torn down and devoured by wolves.

In the war of 1812 Dr. Wright served as assistant surgeon in the encampment on the Cuyahoga river, near Cleveland, under General Harrison's command, remaining until after Perry's victory. He was, however, allowed to go home from time to time to visit the sick, who, in his absence, were left without medical aid, since nearly all able-bodied men and physicians were serving in the militia. After Hull's surrender his house was a common stopping place for the paroled soldiers traveling homeward to Kentucky, and one of these, too sick to proceed farther, died at his house, and was the first man interred in the Tallmage burying-ground.

One of the first operations in which Dr. Wright was interested was an amputation performed upon Mr. Linsley of Gustavus, Trumbull county. The operation was performed by Dr. Wilson of Meadville, Pennsylvania, aided by Dr. Wright and Dr. Hawley. The instruments were Mrs. Kinsman's carving knife and a small carpenter's saw. His principal income was derived from a farm of two hundred acres, and his neighbors whom he served professionally paid him by working upon his farm or furnishing him with farm products, since money was very scarce and obligations were commonly paid in barter.

Dr. Jeremiah Wilcox began practice in Vernon about 1802. He was advanced in years, so that he did not continue practice very long—how long we cannot ascertain—and of his personal

history we have been able to collect nothing.

Dr. Orestes K. Hawley was a member of the band of settlers organized in Connecticut in 1800 by Judge Eliphalet Austin, and which arrived at Austinburg that year. Perhaps no physician of an early day is more deserving of remembrance or has done more to benefit society than he, and it is to be regretted that a fuller account of his life and labors has not been preserved, and that it is impossible to present a portrait of him.

Dr. Hawley was born in Farmington, Connecticut, in 1780, being the son of Rev. Rufus Hawley. Exactly what his education was is uncertain, but a niece of the doctor writes me that she supposes he studied at the Farmington academy and at New Haven. With whom he studied medicine has not been ascertained. He was, however, considered by his fellow practitioners a well educated man, and was esteemed as one of the best physicians of his day. He was a man who read and studied, and was interested and intelligent in other matters as well as in medicine. He continued his practice in Austinburg until his death, at the age of sixty-seven, in 1847. Dr. Hawley's first wife died in 1803, leaving an infant daughter, who later married a Colonel G. W. St. John. In 1804 he married Betsey, daughter of Judge Austin. A daughter, the only child which grew to maturity, died while at school in New Haven. This was shortly after the arrival of her father east to bring her home, and with her re-

mains he made the sad journey, accompanied by one friend. The home thus left childless became an asylum for orphans and motherless nieces, who were here carefully trained and educated with affectionate care.

Dr. Hawley's house was one of cultivation, and his wife, who was a woman of superior intelligence and great energy, aided him efficiently in his labors. Often she went with him to care for the sick, sometimes bringing home with her the children, until their mother should recover, and at times taking invalids into her own house that they might thus receive greater care and stricter medical attention. Dr. Hawley was much interested in the cultivation of shrubs, flowers and fruits, and it is said his grounds were supplied with the choicest things in these lines that could be cultivated in this climate. Professionally we have said this doctor ranked high, and at first from the absence of other physicians, and later because his counsel was sought, he was obliged to go long distances, covering in his ride at times a great part of Ash-tabula county. Being a member of one of the earliest colonies, he more than any other physician endured the hardships of traversing pathless forests and fording unbridged streams, frequently swimming Grand river.

The journal of Rev. Joseph Badger, the Indian missionary, speaks of visiting a settlement twenty miles from Austinburg, and sending for Dr. Hawley to come and render his medical services, and also mentions that he was at the same time requested to come prepared to take home with him a pair of twins

five years of age, and that he complied with the request, keeping the children until the family recovered. There is no record of what surgical operations he performed, but at one time when Captain Erastus Austin was suffering from a swelling deep in the throat, and his life was despaired of, a council consisting of Dr. Merriman of Madison, Dr. Coleman of Ashtabula, and Dr. Allen of Kinsman, was called. An operation was decided upon and performed, and the patient's life was saved. At that time the operation was considered a remarkable one.

In 1812 Dr. Hawley was surgeon to the troops stationed at Cleveland. In his practice his medical charges were fifty cents for calls not distant more than one mile, beyond that distance the price was one dollar, and for longer distances reached five dollars. For extracting teeth the charge was ten cents. Among his students were Dr. Aaron Austin of Sandusky, Dr. Edward Snow of Dearborn, Michigan, and Dr. Edwin Cowles, afterward a successful practitioner of Cleveland, and prominent for the part he took in the care of cholera during one of the epidemics. A mal-practice suit was once successfully conducted against Dr. Hawley by Benjamin Wade and Joshua R. Giddings. It arose from a case of compound fracture of the leg, and was universally conceded by the physicians of Ohio and the east as a most unjust and offensive suit.

Dr. Hawley took an interest in all public affairs. In 1812 he was one of the county commissioners, and from

1815 to 1818 was county treasurer, and before that time his name appeared upon deeds as justice of the peace. His house was open and hospitable, and here were entertained many prominent personages, while the poor were cordially received.

The doctor was an early and enthusiastic abolitionist, being vice-president of the first anti-slavery society in the county, which was formed in 1832. This was at a time when the cause was extremely unpopular. As is well known, Ashtabula county became one of the strongholds of abolitionists, sending later to congress Joshua R. Giddings and Benjamin Wade. To this cause the doctor gave liberally of his time and money. He was a liberal supporter of religion and every good work, but perhaps he gave more largely for the advancement of education than for any other cause. He was one of the original incorporators of Grand River institute in 1831, and to him and Jacob Austin is chiefly due its success. Mr. Austin, who was a successful merchant, gave twenty-five thousand dollars for the school, and Dr. Hawley gave ten thousand dollars, which were munificent sums in the times when they were given.

One of the first physicians to locate in what was Trumbull but is now Mahoning county, was Dr. Charles Dutton, who settled in Youngstown in 1801. Dr. Kirtland speaks of dining with him in 1810, on his first journey west. He studied medicine with Dr. Jared Potter, an eminent physician of Wallingford,

Connecticut, Dr. Potter being the grandfather of the late Dr. Kirtland of Cleveland. Dr. Kirtland, in writing of Dr. Dutton, says: "He was the leading physician and surgeon of the vicinity, and sustained a favorable reputation in that capacity for energy and good judgment."

Dr. Garlick speaks of him in much the same terms. Dr. Mygatt says he was much relied upon about 1817. He was somewhat eccentric, and Dr. Mygatt tells the following story of him:

Desiring one spring to borrow Colonel Rayen's harrow, and sending his man for it, he received the reply that he could drag his grain in with a brush. Forgetting this, later Colonel Rayen sent to Dr. Dutton in great haste to borrow his two-wheeled cart to get in some hay that was threatened by rain, when he received the reply that he could draw it in on his harrow. In an early day he was postmaster. Failing at one time to get the postage due upon a letter taken from the postoffice without being paid for, he sent word to the man who had taken the letter that another awaited him, but he must bring the money for this letter before it would be given to him. The man walked all the way from Hubbard to secure the letter, only to find that there was none and that Dr. Dutton had outwitted him, using this method to secure the money.

At what age Dr. Dutton ceased practice we do not know.

Of Dr. John W. Seeley, who settled in

Howland, we have learned little. He came to that place in about 1806, and was intimately associated with Drs. Dutton of Youngstown and Harmon of Warren. He was a large, portly man of light complexion, full of fun and a good story-teller. He acquired considerable property, among other things owning at one time the Howland springs. As a practitioner he stood well in his day. He filled the position of state senator in the term of 1816 and 1817. He died of apoplexy at about the age of sixty-six, being found dead in his bed on the morning after a celebration of the opening of the Ohio canal. He was usually a sober and temperate man, but the jollification in which all had indulged had perhaps precipitated the apoplectic attack. He was aided and followed in his practice by his son, Sylvanus Seeley, who occupied relatively the same rank as his father. He was a man of quick intellect, full of fun, fond of music and a good time. In the war of 1812 he went as assistant to Dr. Harmon, and was present at the attack on Fort Mackinaw in 1813. He died in Warren in 1840, at the age of sixty-four, his death resulting from apoplexy.

DUDLEY P. ALLEN.

A GROUP OF CLEVELAND MANUFACTURERS

WILLIAM CHISHOLM.

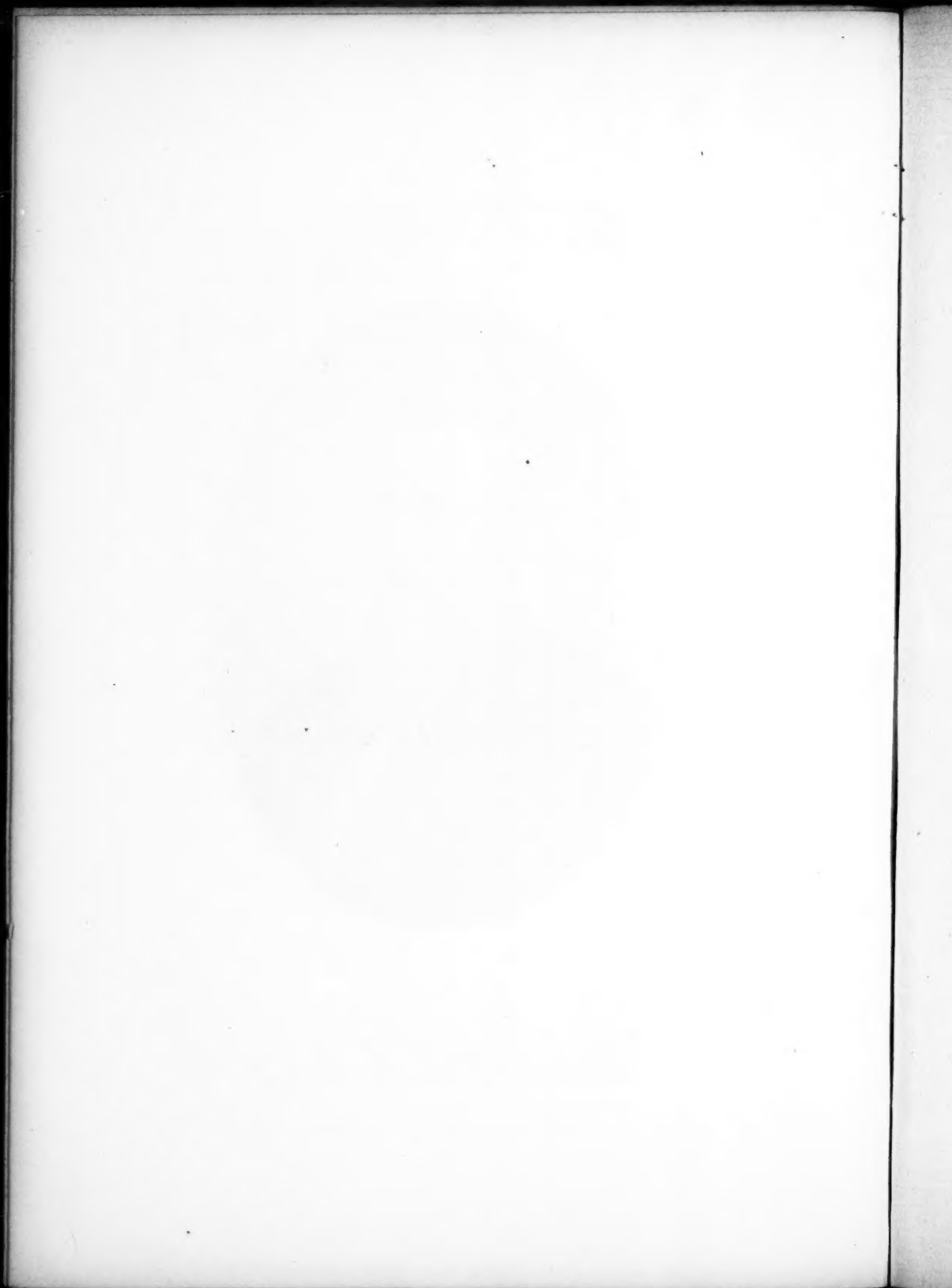
MR. WILLIAM CHISHOLM has given no small share of industry, ability and native energy of character to the advancement of the industrial interests of Cleveland, and ranks high among the manufacturers of this city. He is of Scottish ancestry, and like his brother, the late Henry Chisholm, came into a natural inheritance of thrift, manly independence, courage and perseverance. He was born on August 12, 1825, in the village of Lochgelly, Fifeshire, Scotland. His father dying when he was only seven years of age, he was thrown practically on his own resources and left to fight his own way in the world. When twelve years old he was apprenticed to learn the dry-goods business with a merchant in Kirkcaldy, on the Frith of Forth. Those who have seen the robust energy and stirring character of the man need not be told that this was about the most irksome form of occupation to which he could have been set, and no one will wonder on being further told that, after two short years' experience with laces and linens and the countless delicate intricacies of the dry-goods trade, he suddenly turned his back on it all and was away to sea. He left old Scotland in 1840, as a sailor on the ship *Burley* of Glasgow, joining her at Antwerp, Holland. He was then scarcely fifteen

years of age, but the later characteristics of the man were strongly marked in the boy. Warm-hearted, generous and impulsive, he was a favorite with all on ship-board, while his activity, bravery and strict attention to duty made him a very valuable seaman. With these attributes, and the pushing energy and ambition which have since distinguished his character, he allowed nothing to stand in the way of his promotion, but rose rapidly from the position of cabin boy, through all the gradations, to that of chief officer of the vessel. He was with the *Burley* five years, voyaging from points in England, Scotland and Ireland to South America, the East Indies, Australia, the West Indies, and many other points on the American side of the world. He afterward sailed on other vessels, managing to see a fair portion of the world, and at the same time gathering a vast fund of practical information and general knowledge, which has since proved of inestimable value to him; and, although at the age of twenty-two he abandoned a sea-faring life, yet through all the years since he has retained a deep love for old ocean in all its moods.

He settled in Montreal, Canada, in 1847, where he remained five years, carrying on the business of building and contracting with success. He then re-



William Lusholm



moved to Cleveland, where his brother had settled two years before. Soon after coming here he made several trips on the lakes in the new steamer *Sebastapol*—a vessel designed for carrying both freight and passengers—in which his brother was part owner; and strange to say, after having “sailed the ocean blue” for so many years, it was reserved for him to suffer shipwreck for the first time on this boat. On her fourth trip up the lakes, when she had on board one hundred and thirty-five souls and a large load of freight, including forty-five valuable horses, the captain mistaking a light on another vessel for the harbor light, she went aground five miles south of Milwaukee. She struck just before midnight, and was completely wrecked; but the passengers and crew, after suffering many hours in a fearful storm, were at last all saved by the heroic efforts of the life-saving crew from Milwaukee, with the exception of six who were lost by the capsizing of a small boat.

Mr. Chisholm, however, was not deterred from lake enterprise by this accident, as he immediately went to work and raised the *Sebastapol's* machinery from the wreck, and brought it to Cleveland, where it was again set afloat in two other vessels.

But believing about this time that he saw a better chance for advancement in business in a neighboring state, he removed to Pittsburgh, where he made his residence until the year 1857, when he returned to Cleveland for the purpose of assisting his brother, Henry, in the construction of the iron industry at

Newburgh, now known as the Cleveland rolling mills, but at that time simply called Cleveland or Newburgh iron works, and operated under the firm name of Chisholm & Jones. He assisted in the management during the early struggles of the enterprise, and, although he afterward withdrew from active participation, he still retains a considerable interest in the corporation.

About the year 1860 he embarked in the iron business on his own account, and has since been engaged in various branches of it up to the present time. His first manufacturing was in the line of spikes, bolts, horse shoes, etc., and even while busily employed in this his active brain seemed reaching out for more to do, and he began investigating the manufacture of screws, which had heretofore been made altogether of iron. While thus engaged, the original idea came to him of making them from Bessemer steel. As soon as he had demonstrated to his own satisfaction the practicability of this by experiments which were made for him in an eastern manufactory, he proceeded to organize the company known as the Union Steel Screw company, the result of which was the building, in 1871, of the Union Steel Screw works, now one of the best known and most successful factories in Cleveland. Afterward he extended his sphere of action and added a new enterprise to the city, namely, the manufacture of steel shovels, scoops, spades, etc., on a comparatively new plan, the adapting and perfecting of which required the exercise of all his genius and ability, “for,” to use his own expression, “he

had not only to invent the machinery and appliances, but to 'make' the operators also, as no men could be found who understood this particular kind of work." But success crowned his efforts, and, in 1879, he erected a building for the manufacture of these tools and implements, which, with its improved machinery, is one of the most complete of its kind known. It is called the Chisholm Steel Shovel works, and is operated under the firm name of William Chisholm & Sons.

In 1882 he commenced building steam engines, which are quite novel in their simplicity and easy action, and are specially adapted for all kinds of hoisting and pumping. Also transmitters of a superior kind for carrying coal, ore, etc., from vessels to railroad cars and *vice versa*, and to any required height or distance. This is a remarkable contrivance for saving time and labor. Mr. Chisholm himself possesses great ingenuity and mechanical skill, and has proved it in many an invention and operation. His life has been a busy one, and space can hardly be taken for enumeration of the things—besides the enterprises mentioned above—to which he set his hand during a number of his busy years, such as extensive operations in coal and ore mines, building portions of railroad lines, railroad and other bridges, docks, buildings, etc. Among other things of local interest in which he had a creative part may be mentioned the East Cleveland Street railroad, which he constructed from Water street to Willson avenue. His successes in these diverse fields of labor, in each of

which rare qualities of mind are demanded, show him to be a remarkable man.

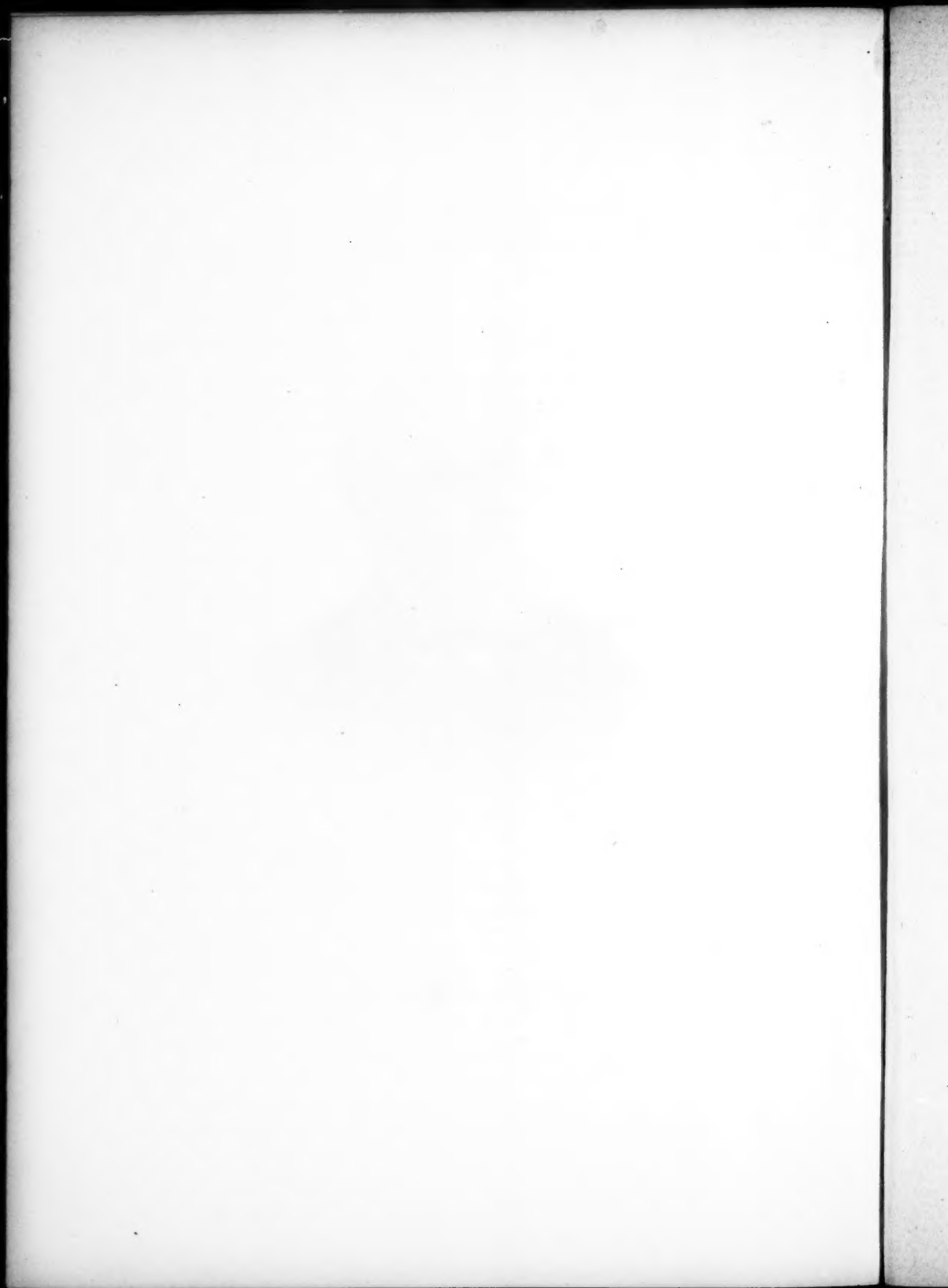
In these later years he has found time for recreation and travel. In 1876 and 1877 he made an extended European tour, visiting while abroad his old Scottish home, which he had left thirty-seven years before. Mr. Chisholm is a man of sterling uprightness of character, clean-handed, and respected by all with whom he has dealings. Socially, he is warm-hearted, genial and hospitable. His mind is well stored with incidents of travel and adventure, and like most sailors he can "spin a good yarn," as many can attest who have listened with interest to his stories, and enjoyed a hearty laugh at the witty conclusion of some of them. He is a member of the Baptist church, and as such he has been most liberal with his means toward the church. Also a generous contributor to many of our public and private charities. Well esteemed by all, he has filled and is filling an unusual measure of good in this community.

He was married, in 1848, to Miss Catharine Allan of Dunfermline, Scotland, and seven children have blessed their union, of whom four are living. Mrs. Chisholm was herself called home, in 1881, leaving a memory loved and honored by her husband and children, by her church, and by all who knew her Christian grace of character.

In 1884 Mr. Chisholm was again married to Mrs. Mary C. Stahl, the lady who now graces his home. She was formerly Miss Mary Cowles, daughter of Charles Cowles, and granddaughter



J. H. Morley



of General Solomon Cowles of Farmington, Connecticut.

J. H. MORLEY.

Among the men who have made Cleveland known the world over as a manufacturing center, and who have combined success in life with high personal and business integrity, Mr. Jesse H. Morley should be assigned a prominent place. While for many years a leading manufacturer, he has touched the interests of this city at other points, and has been and is a worthy and useful citizen. Although of New York parentage, he came into Ohio at so early a date that all the interests in which he has been engaged are hers, and he is a native "Buckeye" in everything but name. He was born at Sennett, Cayuga county, New York, on May 20, 1820. In 1832, at the age of twelve, he came to Ohio and located in Painesville, which was then a thriving business place, with the expectation of a great growth, and intending with her harbor at Fairport to bid defiance to Cleveland and all the places along the lakes. His father did not follow him until 1837, when he also came to Painesville, where he lived the remainder of his life. Several brothers and other relatives of the senior Morley were already there, however, and they were among the most stirring and enterprising men of the day. They were the very pioneers of the iron business in this section. All the pig-iron to be had on the south shore of Lake Erie was made at Painesville, and at Concord and Perry townships. The Geauga Iron company was at work in

Painesville before Cleveland had ever made a pound of iron or thought of doing so. It was organized in 1825, and erected during the summer of that year quite extensive buildings in Painesville, on the west bank of the Grand river, immediately north of the present Lake Shore & Michigan Southern railway. During the subsequent winter the first moulding was done. The earliest articles cast were caldron kettles, of which now almost unknown utensils they made one hundred and sixty. They afterwards made bake-kettles, spiders, and other household goods, in answer to the demands of the day, and did a large business in stoves and hollowware, casting direct from the blast furnace. They shipped to Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo, and all along the lake, and it was a long time before Painesville began to be overshadowed as an iron-making centre. The Morleys were prominent in all these enterprises. In 1835 or 1836 one of the uncles of J. H. Morley aided in the building of a blast furnace at Dover, Ohio, operated and owned by the firm of Tilden, Morley & Co., Mr. Tilden afterwards establishing himself in Vermillion.

After the subject of this sketch, J. H. Morley, commenced life in Painesville at the age of twelve, some years were given to school, after which he entered the general store of his uncle, Lewis Morley. In the mercantile business he remained until coming to Cleveland in 1847. In that vocation he exhibited the same business qualifications that he has shown all through life, which is proved in the fact that before he was

twenty years of age he was allowed to go to New York to purchase goods, an important trust in those days when no commercial agents came to the west, and a stock for the sales of six months must be purchased at each visit. His journey was made to Buffalo by steamer, thence onward by packet or stage coach. Business in those days was a different problem from what it is to-day, although the dawns of the possible future were already beginning to be seen. Mr. Morley tells with great pleasure of talks he had when in New York with Mr. Minor, editor of the Railroad Magazine, which was the first railroad publication in America. This gentleman was enthusiastic over the developing possibilities of steam, but said that he expected to be called insane because he predicted that the young man to whom he was talking would live to see the day when slaughtered beef would be brought to New York on the cars, instead of being driven "over the mountains" on foot. The prophecy, which looks small and safe enough in view of what is being every day done, seemed a rash one to the young merchant from Ohio, especially as produce of all kinds was going to waste all about him, because there was no market to which a great deal of it could be got before perishing.

In 1847 Mr. Morley decided to find a larger field than was offered in the diminishing range of the old location, and in the fall of that year came to Cleveland, where he engaged in the hardware business in company with Mr. H. K. Reynolds, now of New York, under the firm name of Morley & Ray-

nolds. Their location was on the south side of Superior street, the third door from the corner of Water street. Here he remained in steady attention to business until January 1, 1857, when he retired from the firm, and, in 1862, turned his attention to a branch of manufacturing in which he has won such great success and general recognition—the making of white lead. The firm of J. H. Morley & Company was created in the last named year, and the business has remained in its hands from that day to this. That it has become one of the leading and best known manufacturing establishments of Cleveland is a fact needless to dilate upon here. Since Mr. Morley's personal change of location, the business has been conducted by his son, Mr. Fred H. Morley.

While the above outlines the main business connections of Mr. Morley's life, it does not begin to cover the wide field of his usefulness. He was elected a director of the Cleveland Gas Light & Coke company, in 1852, and has been a continuous director from that day to this. He has always taken an active interest in the duties of his position, and when Mr. W. H. Price, the former president of the company, died, in 1883, it was but natural that Mr. Morley should be elected to his place, which he yet fills, and to which he gives the closest attention and the best service which his matured judgment and long business experience can furnish.

Mr. Morley was one of the prime movers in the first effort made to develop the stone quarries of northeastern Ohio, and as that is now an almost for-

gotten piece of history it will be well to revive it and place it on record before the actors therein shall have passed away. In 1850 the Cleveland Stone Dressing company came into being, among its stockholders being Parker Handy, J. P. Bishop, William E. Beckwith, F. T. Backus, J. H. Morley, H. K. Reynolds, Amasa Stone, Reuben Hitchcock and John Case. The enterprise had its origin in a patent method of dressing stone, which Mr. John Case had seen in the east, and which the company that was formed after his return purchased and put in use. Their operations would be counted large even now, and were very extensive for that period. They bought a large territory in Berea, and also a tract of two or three hundred acres in Independence. At the latter place they built a railroad from their quarries to the canal. They purchased a tract of property in Cleveland, on the west side of the river and on the old river bed, where the Rhodes coal yards and offices were afterwards located. They had a frontage on the river, and it was by their efforts that the old river bed was opened and made available to the uses of commerce and navigation. Mr. Morley purchased the railroad iron for the first railroad from the Berea quarries to the newly opened Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati railroad. He went to Sandusky on a pass from Mr. Amasa Stone, and negotiated with the old Mad River & Lake Erie road, when the latter organization discarded its old "strap rail" for the better and more modern "T" rail. This was in reality the opening of the great stone interests

of Berea, as before that the production had been practically confined to grindstones. A part of this rail was also laid on the Independence road.

Thus equipped, the company went earnestly to work and did a great deal of business. They furnished the stone for the Euclid Avenue Presbyterian church, Joseph Perkins' and W. J. Boardman's houses, for several business blocks on Water street and a number of large residences of this city and elsewhere. They furnished the material for the Parliament building at Toronto. The present residence of Senator H. B. Payne was built of stone that came from this quarry at Independence, better known then as the "Old Eldridge quarry." The company operated until 1854, but it was ahead of the times, and there was not enough demand for Ohio stone to justify a continuance of the business, and in the year last named it was decided to wind up and quit. Mr. John Case took the Independence quarry, but did not live long enough to develop it. Before this, it should be said, Messrs. Case, Morley and Hitchcock had bought out the other stockholders and were the sole owners of the property. In the division that occurred, Messrs. Morley and Hitchcock took the land on the west side of the river that has been above described. The Berea property was sold to outside parties. The enterprise was a large and important one, and has opened the way for what has become a great industry in this section.

Mr. Morley has been connected with other Cleveland enterprises, such as

banks, insurance companies, etc., that need not be mentioned here. He was at one time interested in a copper mine at the Lake Superior region, and paid, at an early day, several visits to that section of the country in company with General Howe, a prominent copper man of Pittsburgh. He also owns mining interests on the Pacific coast, and has made several trips on business and pleasure to that far-off land. In his earlier days he gave liberally of his time to various public enterprises, being, among other things, a member of the first Cleveland library association, an organization out of which grew the present Case library. He was one of the originators of the Cleveland Burial Case company, was for a long time its president, and is now one of its directors. This is one of the largest establishments in the United States. They manufacture all the varieties of caskets, and the finest silver and gold plated handles and trimmings. He is also interested in a cattle ranch in South Park, Colorado, said to be the finest one in that territory, on which are five thousand head of cattle and one hundred horses. He was a trustee of the Second Presbyterian church at the time the building on Superior street, on the present site of the Crocker block, was erected, and also at the time of the erection of the present church on the corner of Prospect street and Sterling avenue, and still fills the same position.

Mr. Morley has a wife and five children—three sons and two daughters. His father, Albert Morley, died at Painesville, in 1883, at the age of eighty-

six years. His mother is still living in Painesville, and, although eighty-eight years old, is in comparatively good health, with her mind as bright and memory as good as that of most people at seventy.

The son of this long-lived couple bids fair to see an age as great and vigorous as theirs. He is still a stirring, active business man, in the harness daily, and with his business vision as keen and sure as it was twenty years ago. He accepts no part of supernumerary in any enterprise in which he may be engaged, but is one of the drive-wheels of planning and execution. His mind has been broadened by reading, travel and experience with men, and he possesses a fund of information and incident that never shows signs of giving out. With a high reputation for honest and fair-dealing with all men, generous and just in all things, and surrounded by the comforts which a life of industry has given, Mr. Morley can indeed feel that the latter years of his busy life have been cast in pleasant places.

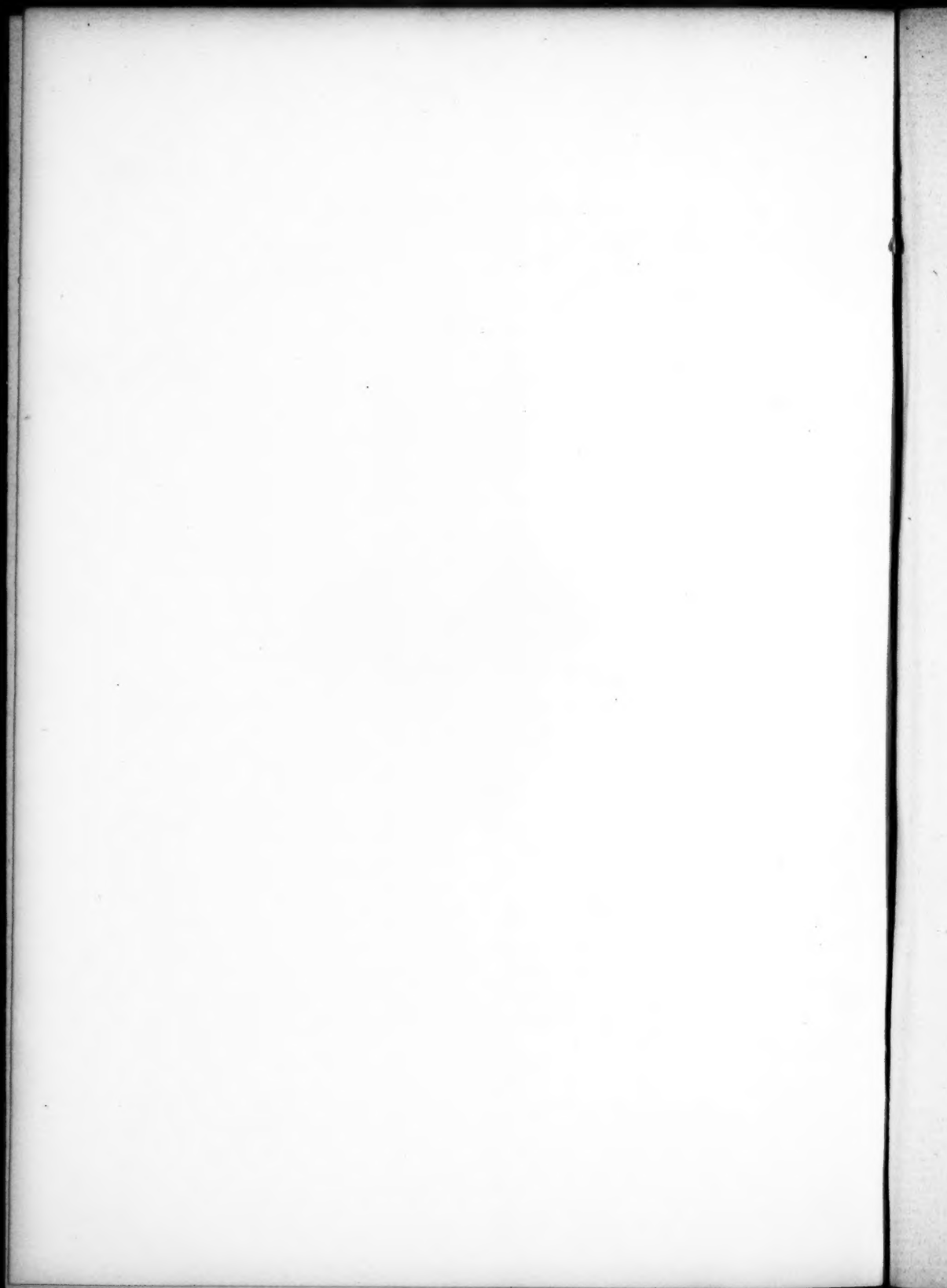
THOMAS H. WHITE.

A Cleveland manufacturer who is known personally to this community as an enterprising and successful man, and who is also known the country over by the great interest with which he is connected, is Mr. Thomas H. White, president of the White Sewing Machine company. He is, in the best meaning of the term, a self-made man, and has already achieved a great success, while still on the sunny side of fifty.

Mr. White was born at Phillipston,



Thos. H. White.



Worcester county, Massachusetts, on April 26, 1836. As his father was a manufacturer, the boy had opportunity from early childhood to make free use of and develop the mechanical talent with which he was naturally endowed. He had a strong liking for mechanics and the devices attaching thereto, and as he developed in years this trait kept pace with his growth, and no doubt had a large influence in determining him on the line of labor in which his life has been employed. He was given a good common school and academic education, and commenced the actual fight with the world and circumstances on his own responsibility when only twenty-two years of age. He began with the manufacture of sewing machines, at Templeton, Massachusetts, his keen vision discerning that the new enterprise, which was just then getting a hold in the world, would become a grand and permanent industry as soon as that world should discover the value thereof. By close labor and continued application he not only made his new venture hold its own, but broaden out into an unquestioned success. In three years he had outgrown the facilities afforded by his location, and removed his works to Orange, in the same state, where he remained for five years. This period was also one of steady and gratifying growth, and on its completion Mr. White decided to seek some locality where he would not only have room for his business to grow to any bounds of which it was capable, but could find the material he needed in the greatest abundance, and also secure an advantageous distributing point.

All these advantages were offered by Cleveland, and accordingly, in 1866, this city was enriched by the addition of Mr. White, his sewing machine business, and the large number of men he employed. Increased success followed this change of base, and his circles of business widened to an extent of which even Mr. White had not dreamed. The outcome was, that in 1876 the White Sewing Machine company was organized, and entered on its remarkably successful career. In the beginning it commenced with a capacity of two hundred machines per week. By 1882 the demands had increased to such proportions that the capacity was increased to two thousand per week, giving employment to about one thousand men, and being one of the largest manufacturing establishments in the west. The immense influence that one man can bring to bear on a business in which he may be engaged is shown by the fact that since Mr. White commenced the manufacture of sewing machines he has been instrumental in setting fully five hundred thousand of these useful servants to doing the work of the world.

The "White" soon began to be heard of outside of America, and in order that the foreign trade might be properly taken care of, a branch office was established in London, England, in 1880, and the greatest success followed this venture. All parts of Europe were the customers of this branch office, and many thousands of the machines were sold. In fact, there is not a country on the globe, where the people have risen to the use of the sewing machine, that

this enterprising Cleveland company has not entered and made its own. Australia, South America, Mexico, and the isles of the sea have all felt a touch of its enterprise, and been made to contribute to the manufacturing wealth and influence of Cleveland. The company is composed of live, earnest and active men, and to each must be awarded his share of the grand success that has been achieved. But while granting to them the full measure of credit, the fact must not be overlooked that in Mr. Thomas H. White a directing power and skillful head of the organization has been found, and that without him the work that has been done could not have been possible. He has been president of the company from its organization, and still occupies that position. It is no mere nominal duty with him, but he gives to it his most earnest and careful attention, and can be any day found at his post, working as hard as the most busy man in his employ. He is of a positive nature, the most excellent business judgment, and modest, conservative, and of few words. While careful in all matters of business, he has at the same time the courage to make ventures of the largest sort when the chances justify him in so doing. When once entered upon a given line of policy, he sees it to the end, and

shrinks from no responsibility that it may impose. He is practical rather than speculative, and while thoroughly competent to meet any business question that may arise, he can at the same time look into and understand the most difficult mechanical problem that may be met in connection with the management of his great establishment. Of the highest personal honor, with a reputation for financial integrity that years of just dealing have established, generous in his deeds, and manly in his bearing to all, Mr. White is looked upon as one of the best citizens and most useful men of which Cleveland is possessed. The public and private charities of Cleveland have received the benefit of his generous impulses, and he has served the public in many ways. In 1875 and 1876 he represented the Fourth ward in the city council, and while there he gave his time and judgment to city affairs with as conscientious regard as though they were personal matters, and his vote was always given for what he regarded the public good rather than for party purposes. Mr. White is a Mason, and a member of the Unitarian church. He was married on November 2, 1858, to Miss Almira L. Greenleaf, daughter of Charles W. Greenleaf of Boston, and eight children have been born to bless their union.

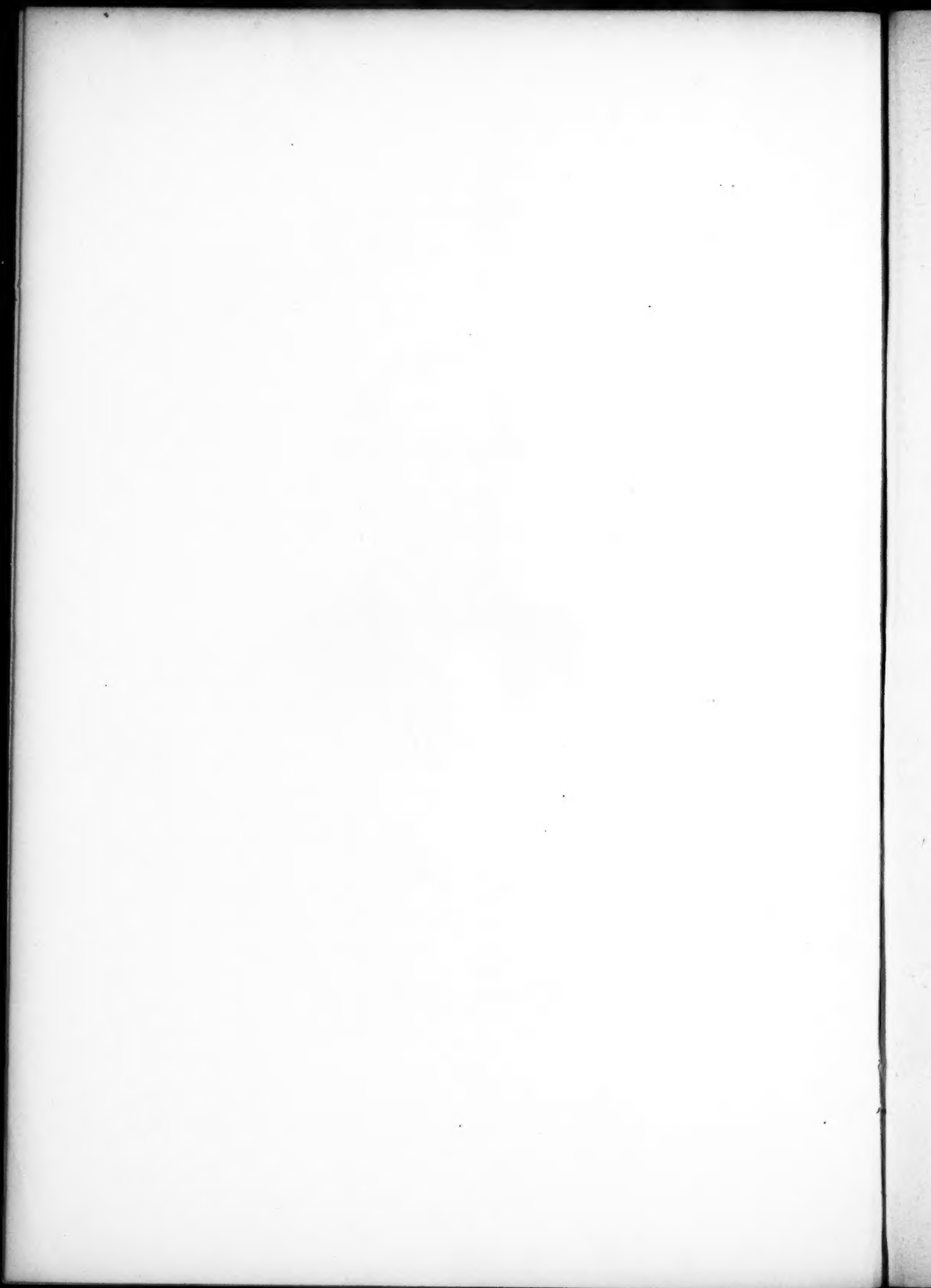
J. H. KENNEDY.



Magazine of Western History

Henry Lloyd

Eng'd by E. D. Willson & Co.



PITTSBURGH.

VI.

HENRY LLOYD.

One of the large iron establishments of Pittsburgh perpetuates in its name the memory of one of the pioneers of that industry, a man who by his labor, strict integrity and honorable methods of business, did much to extend the fame of Pittsburgh manufacturers in the days when the iron trade had commenced to grow toward the proud eminence it has attained to-day. He has been called into the rest of the other life, but the summons did not come until great success had crowned his labors, and he had done much good in the world. He left a good name to his children, and in the list of those who have been true friends to Pittsburgh, the name of Henry Lloyd must ever hold an honorable place.

Mr. Lloyd was of Pennsylvanian nativity, having been born in Huntingdon county on December 25, 1817. His father was one of the most prominent citizens of that section of the State, having served as sheriff and filled other positions of trust and responsibility. One of the sons of the family, John Lloyd, was early fired by zeal in the missionary cause, and on his way to a mission station in China, to give his services in the enlightenment of heathendom, was taken sick and died at Hong

Kong. The son Henry was given an education only so far as the common schools of the day afforded, but made the best possible use of it. From early life he evinced a strong desire for business, and showed an unusual aptitude in that direction. He obtained the position of clerk in the large forwarding and commission house of D. Leech & Co., and was stationed at Hollidaysburgh, on the line of the old Pennsylvania Canal and Portage railroad. It was a grand training school for young men, and among others who obtained a start therein can be named the late Thomas A. Scott, B. F. Jones, and William Thaw. It was always Mr. Lloyd's desire to embark in business for himself as soon as the proper opening should present itself. It came in 1854, and he made good use of it. The Kensington Iron works, among the oldest establishments of that kind in the city, was offered for sale, and Mr. Lloyd, with Mr. Black, bought an interest, the firm name being Miller, Lloyd & Black. In 1857 Messrs. Lloyd and Black bought out the other partner, and the firm of Lloyd & Black came into being, and existed until Mr. Black's death in 1872. It was during this partnership that the business was so extended, and carried on in such shape that it soon became

very prosperous, while the firm was recognized as one of the best and most solid among the iron makers of the country. It was also during this period that Mr. Lloyd amassed the bulk of his large fortune. On the death of Mr. Black his interest was purchased by his partner, who formed a new partnership by the admission of his sons and Mr. Henry Balken, the new organization taking the name of Henry Lloyd, Sons & Co.

After the admission of his sons and Mr. Balken to the business, Mr. Lloyd left more and more of its care and responsibility to them, while he gave his time largely to other enterprises and lines of usefulness. He was elected president of the Pittsburgh Insurance company, which position he held to the time of his death. He was a director of the People's Savings bank, and also its president; a director in the Merchants' and Manufacturers' bank, and one of its founders, and for a long time president of the Safe Deposit company. He was also connected with other business enterprises needless to mention here. In all these banking and commercial relations he readily won and steadily held the confidence and esteem of those associated with him. To the interests of others, when entrusted to his hands, he gave the same care, attention and business sagacity displayed in his own affairs, and the trusts so willingly reposed in him were never slighted nor betrayed.

He was, essentially, a modest and unobtrusive man. He had no desire for public life. In 1868 he consented to

serve in the Select council, and was re-elected for several terms. While there he was a member of the finance committee, and also served as chairman of the water committee. His duties here were fulfilled to the good of the city and his own credit. His judgment on all public questions was of the best, and he had great influence with his official associates. He made council business his own affair, and gave it the same attention and care that were bestowed on his own. Having accepted the responsibility of the position, he shrank from no labor it imposed. In politics he was a Republican, and made it a matter of duty to give of his means and personal effort to aid the party in all legitimate ways. He was president of the Lincoln club and chairman of the executive committee. In church and Sunday-school work he was always a stirring and active force, giving of his money and time, and helping along in all possible ways the causes that lay very close to his heart. During his residence in Hollidaysburgh he joined the Presbyterian church. In one brief account of his life, written soon after he was called away from the scene of such continued usefulness, I find the following touching his labors in this direction:

When Mr. Lloyd removed to the East End there was no church or Sabbath-school in his neighborhood, and he soon set on foot a movement which has resulted in the establishment of one of the most prosperous churches in the city, the Bellefield church, of which the Rev. Mr. Holland is pastor. He, together with the late John Davidson, J. D. Carlisle, and others, organized a Sabbath-school. In the course of years the Bellefield Presbyterian church grew out of this school, and it was largely through the liberal aid of Mr. Lloyd that the Bellefield

church building was erected. He was for many years superintendent of the Sabbath-school, in which position he endeared himself to every man, woman, and child in the congregation. He was the poor man's friend, extending a helping hand to every deserving object of charity. Many a young man in the community is indebted to Henry Lloyd for his start in life.

Mr. Lloyd was a trustee of the Western Theological seminary, of the Western university, and also a trustee of the Washington and Jefferson college. He was an active director of the American Sunday-school union, and for many years president of the Presbyterian committee of missions in Allegheny county. The interests of all these institutions lay close upon his heart, and any call for help from them met with a ready response. "In the church in which he took so abiding an interest," says one, "the Bellefield Presbyterian, he was generously though judiciously liberal, and to him, though the fact is known to but few, is due the credit that the fact that that congregation stands highest of all within the bounds of the synod, as subscriber to the various church funds. He furnished the ground, and paid some fifteen thousand dollars of the twenty thousand required to build the church, and blushed with modesty if the good deed was mentioned in his presence. To a denominational college for girls he gave ten thousand dollars, but made the subscription in the name of the Bellefield church." Calls on him for any form of suffering were never left unanswered. "Few outside the congregation," continuing the above quotation, "not all in it, knew of these acts of quiet beneficence—a beneficence

he looked upon as a matter of duty. In his private charities he was equally modest. Those he has helped, the poor, the distressed, young men in business, are legion, and the only reward he seemed to regard was not that men should praise him, but that his own sense of love for humanity and duty to God should be satisfied." He always kept his heart young, and was marked by the cheerfulness of his disposition. His heart was pure, and his integrity of the strictest kind. His uprightness of character extended to every detail of his business. His plan was to make the best article that could be made, and of course his goods always commanded the highest price in the market. His business was managed on a cash basis, and it was always his rule to have a healthy balance at the bank. He was always exact, methodical and prudent in his affairs, and showed an unusual soundness of judgment in business matters. One feature of his business life is worthy of especial mention, and that was his course toward the men in his employ and their feeling for him in return. His fairness and justice toward them were of the highest character, and his troubles with the men were few and far between. He was open to the approach of any of his men, and all felt that in him they had a friend. The best possible evidence on this point is found in the tribute laid by his employes upon his tomb, from which the following is extracted:

With bowed heads and sad hearts, we, the employees of the Kensington iron works, have gathered together to express our deep sorrow for the loss of

one we loved so well. None knew his worth better, none will feel his loss more keenly than we. Gray-haired men who have been in his employ for a period of twenty years, all speak of him as one of nature's noblemen. There was no man in his employ, no matter in what capacity he worked, but that could approach him as easily as approaching a child. . . . In the darkest days of our financial panic our money was waiting for us every Saturday afternoon. In the hottest days of summer, when we were fatigued and almost exhausted from the excessive heat, he would come among us with a pleasant smile and a cheerful word that would invigorate and inspire us to perform our arduous tasks. He was always ready to give us everything we needed to perform our work with, no matter what it was or what it cost, and we feel that in his death we have lost a kind friend.

The loss of such a man to the place in which he has worked in modest usefulness for many years, and where he has made his intellect, heart and fortune means by which the world is benefited and made better, seems almost irreparable, and it was with heavy hearts that the people of Pittsburgh learned of Henry Lloyd's death. He was taken with a sharp attack of typhoid pneumonia in February, 1879, and all the aid that love and skill could give was of no avail. He died at the family residence, on Fifth avenue, on Wednesday, February 12, at half past two o'clock in the afternoon. His Christian faith sustained him to the last, and he entered the portals of the other world peacefully, and with an abiding trust that was like the falling of a child to sleep. Many and deep were the expressions of grief that were heard from all classes. The institutions in which he had labored placed on record in heartfelt and touching words their estimate of his labors and his character.

At a meeting of the iron manufacturers of Pittsburgh he was spoken of as "a man who was eminently successful; as a competitor he was the soul of fairness and honor; and as an adviser in the difficulties that have surounded our trade he was safe, judicious and prudent. . . . We also desire to record our regard and admiration for his personal character. He was a man, kind, courageous and considerate, of sterling integrity, of bountiful charity, and noble generosity." The People's Savings bank directors speak in the highest terms of the manner in which he discharged his duties as president of that institution, and the Pittsburgh Fire Insurance company speak in a similar strain. The Oakland Methodist church declared that "his pure life, generous charity, earnest Christian labors, and devotion to the well-being of those around him, give an occasion for an expression of respect and love." The trustees of Grace Memorial Presbyterian church, the directors of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' National Bank of Pittsburgh, and many other institutions with which he was connected or to which he had given aid, made use of language similar to that quoted above, in which to do honor to his memory. He was laid to rest on the afternoon of February 14, and was carried to his tomb by six stalwart men who had been in his employ for over thirty years, and followed by hundreds of the Sunday-school children who loved him well, by several hundred friends to whom he had been a friend as well as employer, and by a large concourse of citizens. His life



Engraving of Western Pilot

Wm. D. Ripet
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Engd by E. G. Williams & Bro. N.Y.

had been a noble and useful one, and the tributes laid with love and reverence on his memory had been most worthily won.

WILLIAM S. BISSELL.

William S. Bissell, the subject of this brief sketch, was a life-long and well-known citizen of Pittsburgh, who departed this life in the latter part of May of the year now closing. Among the foremost of the citizens of a great and restless industrial centre, he leaves behind an unsullied reputation for integrity of character, and an example of what energy and perseverance in the performance of duty can accomplish in this world's affairs. Although never a politician, his connection with public enterprises brought him at various times prominently before the people of western Pennsylvania, so that his loss was felt in many circles remote from that of his family, and by numerous personal friends who can sympathize with those who were most dear to him in their sore distress.

Mr. Bissell was born August 2, 1822, at Pittsburgh. He was descended from the best New England stock, tracing one branch of his ancestry back to the Hugonots. Members of his family were driven from Normandy and settled in Somersetshire, England, and later found their way to Windsor, Connecticut, about 1640. His grandfather was one of the engineers of the Connecticut Land company, sent across New York and Pennsylvania to aid in the laying out of the Western Reserve, in preparation for the tide of emigration that soon followed. The father of the subject of

this sketch was John Bissell, one of the first men to engage in the manufacture of iron to any extent in Pittsburgh. He and William Morrison bought the Juniata rolling mill, that was operated by Semple, Bissell & Co. It was located on the Allegheny river, at the Allegheny side, below the present terminus of the Sixth street suspension bridge. The mill was one of the great iron features of its day, and in the 'Pittsburgh Directory' for 1837 we read of the firm of John Bissell & Co. manufacturing annually three thousand five hundred tons of iron of various descriptions, two-thirds from pig-iron and the balance from Juniata blooms. The value of this product for that year was \$420,000; they consumed two hundred and fifty thousand bushels of coal and coke, and employed one hundred hands. It was then one of the largest iron establishments of Pittsburgh. John Bissell lived to a good old age, and died in 1865. The son William S. was given the benefit of the best schools of Pittsburgh, and laid therein the foundations of that culture and scientific knowledge which so marked his later years. In 1840 he went into partnership in the establishment of his father, and remained there until 1855, giving a close and industrious attention to its interests, and doing his duty thoroughly and well. The trade of the firm was largely in the south, and as times became unsettled and somewhat uncertain in that portion of the country prior to the war, the proprietors of the mill decided to close it up and go out of the business. They did so, and Mr. William S. Bissell

gave himself to other interests. He was an active and earnest promoter of the railroad enterprises touching Pittsburgh, believing that each was but an artery through which new life-blood could be carried into the commercial and business system of the city. As early as 1853 we find him connected with the interests of the Pittsburgh & Connellsville railroad, a line constructed to bring the great Connellsville coal and coke region into close relation with the iron centre of the west. He was a director in that corporation from its origin to his death. He was also financially and personally interested in the Pittsburgh division and other branches of the Baltimore & Ohio. He was among the earliest of the projectors of the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie railroad at a time when few besides himself were far-seeing enough to predict its remarkable success. He projected, constructed and operated for several years the Salisbury branch of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, one of the chief feeders to the extensive coal trade of that company. He was also president of the Pittsburgh East End Railroad company, and connected with other similar enterprises up to the very last, all of which give promise of great future usefulness to western Pennsylvania and his native city.

Where other men feared to venture in new enterprises Mr. Bissell appeared to be fearless, having faith in his own judgment. This individuality and his uniform success, which was marked, brought to him many friends who at all times could safely rely upon his counsel and draw upon his experience. Among the

local city institutions of Pittsburgh with which he was connected was the Citizens' National bank, of which and its predecessor, before the national banking system came into operation, he was a director for nearly thirty years. For many years, also, and up to the time of his death, he was president of the Ninth Street Bridge company.

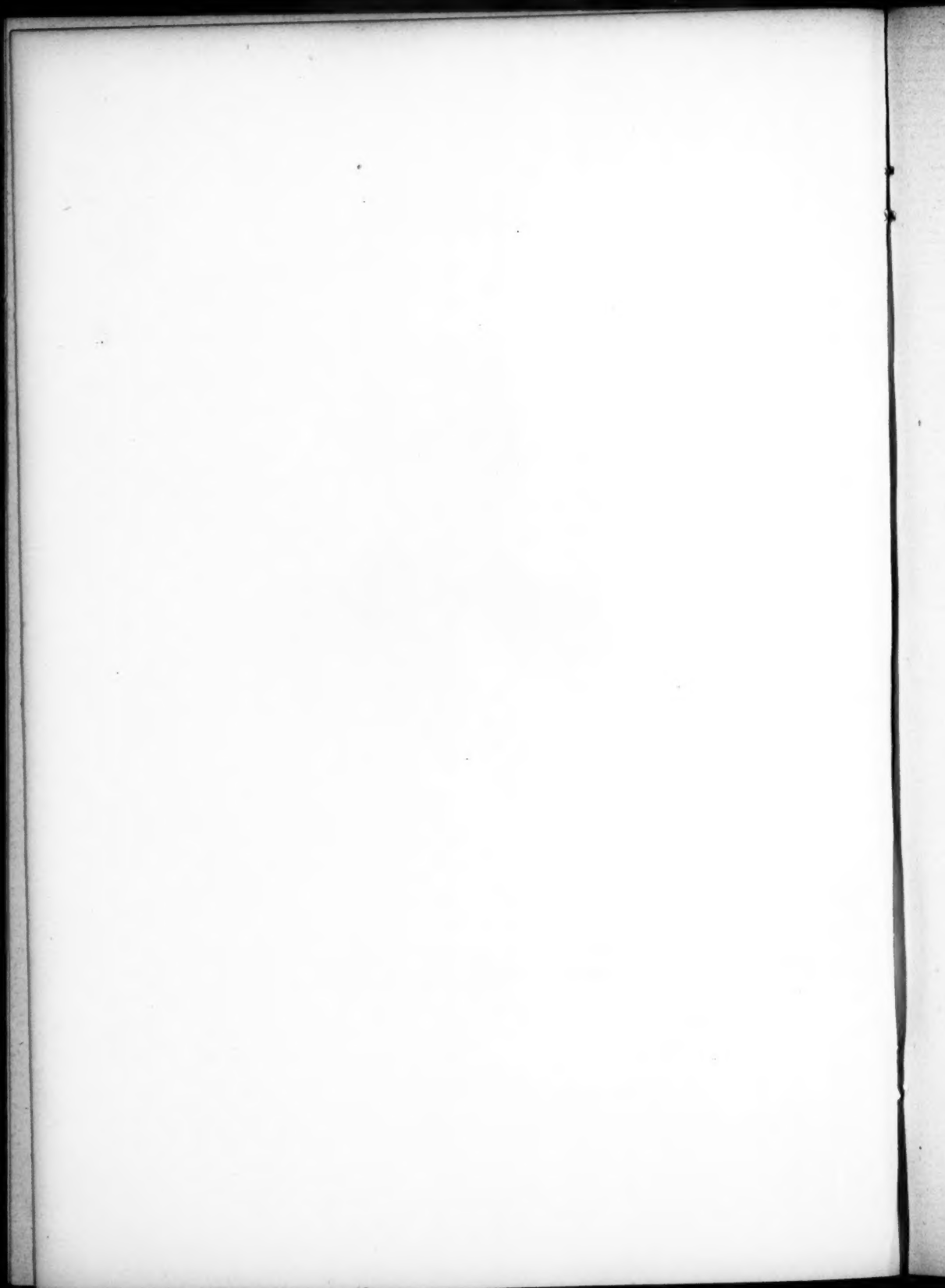
In his business relations, as in his private life, Mr. Bissell was distinguished by his power to gain and hold the respect and esteem of others. In the generosity and manliness of his nature, his forgiving spirit, probity and faithful discharge of every duty, he showed the possession of qualities that fitted him for every position to which he was called. He was a member of the Presbyterian church for many years, and was a generous giver to any worthy object in the line of church work, while at all times, no matter how deeply engaged in business, the poorest beggar could approach him and find a sympathetic response, accompanied by a more substantial token than mere words can express of the kindliness of his heart. While Mr. Bissell was a dignified and courteous gentleman in his behavior at all times, he seemed to have—what few possess—a peculiar charm of manner which he appeared to delight to manifest to those who called upon him from the humbler walks of life. There was a cheeriness in his voice and a heartiness in his greetings which made everyone feel at home in his company. Having been an extensive traveler he could always be entertaining, and as he was gifted with a wonderfully retentive memory, partic-



Magazine of Western History

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ularly of events connected with the early history of western Pennsylvania from the time of Braddock's expedition, he was able to weave his discourse into very instructive lessons for his auditors. In every respect he was an upright Christian in the full meaning of the word, and in his private life he was pure and beyond reproach.

Few men leading the active, busy life that Mr. Bissell lived could have been more devoted to study, but he was not only a student of books and subjects of art, to his stock of which he was constantly adding, but he was also a lover and close observer of nature and kept himself always abreast with the scientific discoveries of the day. His mind in some regards was certainly remarkable, for he united in himself not only the thoughtfulness of the student and philosopher but the practical knowledge of the experimenter and discoverer, and to such a degree that there were but few scientific topics of practical application with which he was not familiar. His fondness for nature was best exemplified in his attention to the department of horticulture and agriculture, in which he engaged with the zest of an enthusiast and in which he was regarded as an authority. For several years he was president of the Pennsylvania State Agricultural society, and one of its directors up to the time of his death. He was always alive to the interests of this important organization and did much to make it not only a success but a power for good and a means of education among the agriculturists throughout the state. Mr. Bissell was also among

the most prominent of the western members of the highly honored Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, the American Pomological society and the American Forestry association.

Among other things done for the improvement and advancement of Pittsburgh was the erection, on the corner of Seventh avenue and Smithfield street, of the massive and elegant business block and office building which bears his name. This building, completed in 1881, was the first great structure of that kind designed in western Pennsylvania, and stands as a monument of his foresight and enterprise.

Towards the latter part of May of the present year, 1885, Mr. Bissell was prostrated by a severe illness, at Alliguiippi farm, his country home, on the Youghiogheny river, above Pittsburgh, sank rapidly and passed peacefully away, on May 27. The many tributes to his memory from the public press and from societies and corporations with which he had been connected, and friends who knew him best, evinced the high esteem in which he was held, and that an honorable record had been won and maintained through many years of an active and busy life.

JAMES LAUGHLIN.

Another of the men who have aided in the building up of Pittsburgh's great iron interests, is James Laughlin, who has passed from the scene of his labors and triumphs into the rest of the other life. He performed his part nobly while here, and among the most valuable of the many things he left his children is

the honored name on which there has been laid no stain, and which is held in high respect in the community in which he so long lived. While he was for many years an iron manufacturer, that line of activity was not the only one in which he was engaged, but he worked for the community through many other lines of usefulness.

He was born in county Down, in Ireland, in the year 1806. His father was a farmer, and his farm lay near that part of the northeastern coast which extends the farthest into the channel, not far from the southern part of Scotland, and having that country and the Isle of Man in full view. After a course of study at Belfast, he returned home and assisted his father, who was well advanced in years, in the management of the farm. His health was such that an outdoor life was a necessity. When he reached the age of twenty-three it was decided by the family to emigrate to America. The farm was sold, and early in 1829, with father and three sisters—the mother having died several years earlier—he set sail for the new world, landing in Baltimore after a voyage of forty-five days. A warm welcome awaited the little party from friends who had preceded them by some years. The first year was spent in disposing of an invoice of Liverpool queensware, in which he had invested the greater part of his patrimony before leaving the old country. The venture did not prove very remunerative, nor the business to his liking, but furnished employment while seeking a favorable business connection. He afterwards entered the provision

business with his brother, in Pittsburgh, under the firm name of A. Laughlin & Co. In addition to this main house they established a branch in Evansville, Indiana, at which point they erected a pork-packing house. To carry on the business successfully, James Laughlin spent the greater part of the winter season of each year in what was then the far west, the long distance now comfortably and quickly traveled by a Pullman car, being then a journey of weeks by stage coach or on horseback, and attended often in the winter season with severe exposure.

This partnership was dissolved, in 1835, Mr. James Laughlin continuing the business alone. His Evansville interests were placed in charge of Samuel Orr, a fellow-countryman, with whom he afterwards formed a partnership to carry on a general merchandise and iron business in the last named place. His time and attention were closely and earnestly given to these duties and labors until shortly after 1855, when he relinquished the provision business and turned his attention to what had for some years been the leading industry of Pittsburgh, the manufacture of iron. From that time forward his name was prominently and intimately associated with the enterprise and industry which have made Pittsburgh the centre of the iron business of the country. In 1855 he entered into partnership with Mr. B. F. Jones, whose sketch recently appeared in these pages, and where was also given a brief history and description of the great commercial and industrial power in the iron world that these men steadily and

surely built up. The firm of Jones & Laughlin took a leading position from the start, and held it from thenceforward. Mr. Laughlin gave to this business the attention, earnestness and industry he had shown in his other ventures, and was more than repaid in the substantial benefits that resulted therefrom. He was a member of that firm until his death, and, as has been said in a previous number, his place has been worthily filled by his sons.

In the early years of his life in Pittsburgh, Mr. Laughlin conceived and put into operation a plan by which the working people of his vicinity could be encouraged in the habit of saving. He organized the Fifth Ward Savings bank, of which he was elected president. This institution was succeeded by the Pittsburgh Trust company, which was organized under a charter from the state, on July 12, 1852. This company surrendered its charter and organized as an association on July 1, 1857, with the same president, board of directors and officers. It filed an application for a charter under the national currency act of April 11, 1863, being the fifth application filed. The transfer of the Trust company to the First National bank of Pittsburgh was completed on August 7, 1863, Mr. Laughlin continuing in the position of president. The Trust company was the first organized bank in the county that made application for a charter under the new federal banking system. National banking was not so popular an idea, nor deemed so safe, in those days as at the present. But Mr. Laughlin and his associates had faith in

the system and in the stability and success of the government in the great undertaking of suppressing the rebellion, in which it was engaged. He believed in the Union cause, and in the business and financial soundness of Secretary Chase's banking system. Mr. Laughlin remained president of the First National bank until his death. Commencing from the origin of the old Fifth Ward Savings bank, early in the decade running from 1850 to 1860, he was one of the oldest bank presidents of the state, in point of continuous service. His service to the public and to those whose financial interests received such loyal and safe attention in his hands, can never be fully estimated. The directors of the First National, when called upon to record their tribute to his life and services, spoke in no stinted manner but in words that carried the plain impress of truth. "We bear testimony," they declared, at a special meeting held soon after his death, "that in all our personal and business relations with Mr. Laughlin, extending in some instances over thirty years, we have found him a type of the successful American banker, readily grasping the opportunities, difficulties and dangers of extended financial operations, meeting all questions with extraordinary freedom from personal bias or prejudice, keeping pace even in advancing years with liberal and progressive principles of finance and business, conciliatory and kind in personal intercourse, yet always just in business relations. His associates further feel it a duty to declare the uninterrupted harmony that

characterized an intimate business and personal intercourse extending over thirty years since the foundation of the bank, a high proof in itself of Mr. Laughlin's executive ability and kindness."

Mr. Laughlin was also the founder and chief proprietor of the firm of Laughlin & Company, owners of the Eliza blast furnaces. He was, in the broadest and best sense of the term, a manufacturer and business man, and allowed nothing to stand in the way of an undivided attention to the duties reposed in his hands. Although he took an intelligent and patriotic interest in public affairs, and voiced his conscience and judgment in his ballot, he never engaged in partisan politics. He served for a season in the Pittsburgh select council as a representative from the old fifth ward, but beyond that would not allow his name to be used in connection with any public station. His private life was above reproach. He was a member of the First Presbyterian church and among its oldest members and most liberal supporters. He was recognized and honored by all as one of the best and most useful members of the community in which his lot was cast. He was one of the best friends of the Western Theological seminary of Allegheny, and took a deep interest in everything pertaining to its welfare. He was one of the incorporators of the Western Pennsylvania deaf and dumb institute, located at Pittsburgh, and one of its trustees from its beginning to the day of his death. He was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Female college, its

president and a liberal contributor. The higher education of women was a subject near to his heart.

He was conservative in his mental habits, and had no liking for rash speculations or what we now call "business booms." Yet he was progressive and daring, when his business sense led him to believe that there was a logical basis for great enterprises. His judgment was recognized as nearly infallible. He had that clearness of perception that led him to push aside all cobwebs and allurements, and grasp the solid realities, and seldom were his conclusions found to be in fault. That which fixed him high in the regard of all classes of citizens was his strict integrity, his liberal and ennobling charities, the value of his counsels and the mildness of his bearing among men. It was often remarked by people in his employ that he invariably approached them with as much deference as would have been looked for had their positions been reversed. But this mildness of manner was not an indication or result of an easy-going disposition, for when occasion required he could be as firm as the rock. It has been said in the above that he had no sympathy with spasmodic business methods. This was a matter of principle with him. These points of character have been well described in the memorial of his bank associates above referred to, and from which the following is also taken:

In Mr. Laughlin's more public relations with the interests and progress of Pittsburgh, we feel our citizens will join with us in testimony of his enterprise; his grasp of future possibilities to the advantage of the city; to the high standard of principle that

guided his judgment in all matters; to the fact that in banking and more general business, or manufacturing, he had a clear perception, was prompt in decision, and, as a rule, almost infallible, and thus the strongest of our local authorities and advisers; that he was a man of large benevolence, always ready to extend a helping hand to the needy and unfortunate.

The end came to him on December 18, in the Christmas season of 1882, and after he had lived through three-fourths of a century of useful good to the world. He had been suffering from seemingly slight ailments for a couple of years, but no sudden danger was apprehended. Up to within a week of his death he was about as usual, looking after his affairs, but a severe cold resulted in a serious illness, and the utmost efforts of those who loved him so well were of no avail. He died without a shadow of fear, and the end was one of trust and peace. "He was interested in those about him to the last," said his pastor, when the mourning friends stood about the beloved dead. "His personal experience was deep and true. He had the most unbounded confidence in the great truths. His was a quiet and sustained faith. It wavered not as his hold on life loosened. Without any approach to vain self-confidence, he felt that he had set his house in order, and was waiting the summons calmly."

Mr. Laughlin was married in Pittsburgh on September 10, 1837, to Miss Ann Irwin, daughter of Bayle Irwin, esq. She still survives him. One daughter and four sons were born to

their union, one of the latter, Irwin B., dying at Nice, France, in 1871. The three remaining sons—Henry A., George, and James, jr.—are among the most able and enterprising of the business men of Pittsburgh, and are worthily carrying the good name their father bequeathed them.

There is no more fitting way in which this brief account can be closed than to adopt the language of the resolutions adopted by the board of the Female college, of which he was president, and to which institution he was always a warm and generous friend.

From his Scotch-Irish ancestry he inherited, in an eminent degree, the peculiar traits of the race—industry, frugality, perseverance, indomitable energy and determination. He sought success and achieved it in the practice of the strictest honesty and legitimate business; indeed, in his estimate, any other kind of success would have been considered no success at all. His life furnished a grand illustration of the fact that in business, honesty, uprightness, integrity and honor will, in the end, vanquish opposition, overcome difficulties, and outstrip in the race all clever and shrewd devices to circumvent the law and overreach competitors. His word was as good as his bond. He was as honest and open as the day. He amassed a large fortune, and he was always ready to use his wealth for the glory of God, for the advancement of society and for the good of mankind. To him more than to any one else is the Pennsylvania Female college indebted, both for his munificent gift at its founding and for his constant and untiring liberality in its every time of need. He accompanied his gifts, moreover, with his personal care, interest, counsel and oversight. His faith and courage never failed. In its darkest hours his words were always those of encouragement. . . . After a long, useful and honored life he has gone to his rest, lamented by kindred, by neighbors, by associates in business, and by institutions which have shared his large benefactions.

* EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

"The Increase of Means of Culture since the Civil War" would be a capital subject for an elaborate magazine or review article. He who should attempt to write that article would find an abundance of material made ready to his hand, not the least interesting part of which would be the multiplication of associations for the cultivation of various branches of learning and science. Nor would the least interesting of these associations be the one whose name is given above. Founded in September, 1884, at Saratoga, at the time of the annual session of the American Social Science association, of which it is, in a sense, an offshoot, the American Historical association entered at once upon a vigorous growth; indeed, the association was born vigorous and active. At their first meeting addresses and papers were submitted as follows: "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization," President A. D. White of Cornell University; "Federal Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory," G. W. Knapp, now of State University, Columbus, Ohio; "Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America," Dr. Edward Channing, Harvard University; "The Founders of New Haven," C. H. Livermore of Johns Hopkins; "Some New Sources of Mediæval History," Professor Crane of Cornell University; "Monumenta Germaniæ Historia," Dr. Francke of Harvard; "The Influence of Thomas Paine on the Popular Resolution for Independence," Professor M. C. Tyler, Cornell; "Constitutional Growth in the United States," Professor Austin Scott, Rutgers College.

Within the year the association has published three numbers of volume one of "Pa-

pers of the American Historical Association," one a "Report of Organization and Proceedings," and the other two the papers of President White and Professor Knapp, mentioned above, the last one being a substantial and valuable monograph of nearly two hundred pages.

The second meeting was held at Saratoga in September. A very concise report, condensed from the fuller one contained in an educational journal, will give some small idea of the range, vigor and strength of the papers:

Hon. Andrew D. White, the president, made a very able address on "The Influence of American Ideas Upon the French Revolution." He spoke of the influence of Franklin, Jefferson, Barlow and Paine, the French soldiers returned from the American revolution, and Frenchmen from American travel.

Goldwin Smith of Toronto, Canada, gave an address on the political history of Canada. The British empire, he said, was made up of different elements—India, the military dependencies, the crown colonies, and the self-governing colonies. The self-governing colonies were really independent nations, bound to the mother-country only by a nominal tie, though the moral tie was still strong. Americans were hardly conscious of the recent extension of Canada and the growth of her aspirations. Canadian confederation was still on trial and had great difficulties, both geographical and political, to contend with. A veil hung over the future.

Professor T. R. Brackett of Johns Hopkins university made a report of certain studies in the institution of African slavery in the United States. He said that though the existence of slavery is a thing of the past, there is manifest need of research in the institution of slavery, both as a contribution to our past history and as a help in many ways, and in dealing with the "negro problem" of to-day. Much information can now be gathered from the generation that will soon be gone. First, there should be a bibliography of the institution of slavery, for many of the thousand books on our shelves are of no value to students. Secondly, one should study, in the best authorities on the different countries, the blacks as a people in their home in Africa, in Liberia, in the West Indies, and in the reconstructed south, to note any effects of inheritance and environment.

Justin Winsor, librarian of Harvard university, read a

*Contributed by Professor B. A. Hinsdale.

paper on "An Italian Portolano in the Sixteenth Century." Papers were read by Professor Herbert Tuttle of Cornell university, on "New Materials for the History of Frederick the Great," and Professor E. Emerton of Harvard College, on "Recent Controversies concerning the Reformation."

A paper by Rt. Rev. C. F. Robertson, Bishop of Missouri, on "The Louisiana Purchase and its Influence upon the American System," stated that the acquisition of this domain, extending from the Mississippi river to the Rocky mountains, and from the Gulf of Mexico to the British line, was one of the most important and significant events in earlier American history. It puts us in command of the great river and the Gulf of Mexico, and gave us "western boundaries undefined." Its territorial extent was four times as great as that of the original states. Our addition of this large territory to the west and the south disturbed the equilibrium of the country, and occasioned a conflict of interests which, for a score of years, deeply agitated the political aspects of American life. In connection with social and political upheavals in Europe at the time, it set on foot a disposition to perpetuate American ideas and extend American dominancy, which occasioned expeditions into Spanish America, and ultimately led to the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of our large mineral territory in California. The expansion of our territory created a great number of new interests, and an enlargement and restatement of American policy as regards the whole continent of America. The proclamation of the Monroe doctrine has led to the continued assertion of our distinctly American policy in the issues which have arisen, some of which are not yet adjusted.

"History of the Appointing Power of the President of the United States" was the subject treated in a paper by Miss Lucy M. Salmon of the University of Michigan. She considered the subject under four heads: First, the theoretical stage, 1787-1789, or the question in the Philadelphia convention and in the first congress; second, the merit period, 1789-1829, or the power as exercised by statesmen, both Federalist and anti-Federalist; third, the spoils period, 1829-1861, including President Jackson's interpretation of the constitution and its results; fourth, the reform period, 1861-1883, including the culmination of the spoils system and the attempts to check the evil.

"The Origin and Administration of the City of Washington" was the title of a paper by John Addison Porter of Washington, D. C. He gave the historical causes and reasons for the selection of the site offered by the states of Maryland and Virginia in 1789; location of the boundaries of the city by Washington himself, with the aid of three commissioners, in 1791; laying out the streets by the engineer, Major L'Enfant, a foreigner of liberal ideas.

One of the most interesting papers read, and of great practical value, was that by Professor H. R. Adams, the secretary, on "The Society to Encourage Home Study,"

which was organized in Boston in 1873. The work is conducted entirely by correspondence. A committee of ladies direct the home studies of the association's young women in history, science, art, German, French and English literature. The study of history is divided into four sections—ancient, mediæval, modern and American. Lists of books are recommended for private reading. Written reports are required from pupils on the first of every month. The society has a lending library, and circulated last year 1,214 volumes.

President A. D. White read a paper on "The Development of the Modern Cometary Theory;" J. F. Jamison of Johns Hopkins university, one on "The Study of the Constitutional and Political History of the United States;" Hon. Eugene Schuyler one on "Materials for American History in Foreign Archives" (said to have been of great interest and value); D. R. Dewey, Johns Hopkins university, one on a proposed "History of American Political Economy."

Dr. Edward Channing of Cambridge spoke of the richness of the comparatively unexplored field of historical geography of our own country. He called special attention to large copies of Moll's map of 1720, the well known Burke map of 1775, the typography of which was by Kitchen, while the political outlines were put in by an unknown hand. This last map has an explanation of the colors and the lines in French and English, which is good evidence that it was intended for sale in Paris and London. It shows the territorial claims of France and England in 1775. Reference was made to the limits of the province of Quebec, as settled by the Quebec act.

General George W. Cullum, the senior major-general of the United States army, read a paper on the disposal of Burgoyne's troops after the Saratoga convention of 1777. The articles of the convention were quoted in full. Burgoyne outwitted Gates in stipulating for the speedy embarkation of the English army for Great Britain, on condition only of not serving again in the war in North America. This would release a fresh army for service in the colonies, and Burgoyne wrote to his friend, Colonel Phillipson: "I dictated terms of convention which saved the army to the state for the next campaign." The bad faith of the British commander in the concealment of arms, colors and treasure was shown by citations from the *Riedesel Memoirs* and by testimony of the British themselves. Burgoyne's dishonorable plan of breaking his oath in the articles of convention, when he heard of Sir Clinton's successes, was discussed. On the other hand, congress interposed its authority to nullify the too favorable conditions which Gates had granted. In defiance of the meaning of the articles; and upon trumped up pretenses, Burgoyne's army was detained in the country until the close of the hostilities. The terms of this convention and the manner of their fulfillment were compared with the conditions accompanying the capitulation of Charleston in 1780 and the convention of Kloster-Seven in 1759: The act of congress overruling the agree-

ment between generals Sherman and Johnston in 1865 was referred to, and, in general, it was shown that the supreme authority has frequently broken unsatisfactory treaties upon motives of expediency, using frivolous pretexts to cover the odium of bad faith.

The papers of Bishop Robertson and Goldwin Smith have already been announced for publication.

To the general reader nothing of more interest was presented at either meeting than the account given, at the first meeting, by Mr. Justin Winsor, of the incipency and progress of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," a work that was originally suggested by the 'Memorial History of Boston.' Mr. Winsor said:

The success of the co-operative plan, by which specialists were brought to present in unison the various phases of the history of Boston, all subordinated to the direction of an editor, suggested the application of a similar combination to the writing of the 'History of the American Continent.' In distinctive treatment of the theme, however, the plan of the 'America' is quite different from the 'Memorial History of Boston'; indeed, different from any existing history of large scope, inasmuch as the chief aim of the book is to offer a critical and biographical examination of all the sources of information, and an exposition of the authorities based on original material, or presenting in some distinguishable way the more common knowledge of the subject. The narrative of events is not overlooked, but is given as a condensed summary of the best existing knowledge. The graphic illustrations are to be very numerous, and nothing in the way of imaginary or idealized pictorial design is to be allowed. Conceiving that the early maps, as illustrating the waning of error and the gradual development of truth

in respect to geographical ideas, are a most important source of original material, which has been largely neglected by historians, the editor provides a more thorough examination of the early cartography than has been before made, while *facsimiles* and sketches of very many maps are given.

This important resolution was adopted at the second meeting:

Resolved, That it is especially important that the beginnings of history in our newer territories and provinces should be fully and carefully recorded. We therefore urge upon the members of the American Historical association residing in those portions of America, and upon all others interested in historical studies, the organization and maintenance of local historical societies, which shall preserve files of local newspapers, collect fugitive documents, provide memorial sketches of men of mark, interest towns in carefully preserving their records and maps, secure full accounts of all that can be learned of the Aborigines, their tribal organization, arts, customs and implements; make careful descriptions of the location and nature of any Indian mounds, painted rocks, or other places of importance in the history of the red man; give complete accounts of all Indian wars or raids, mark the location of Buffalo trails, cattle trails, forests and treeless tracts which are likely to be lost; record the date of the first settlement of towns, with the names and origin of the first settlers; describe the temporary social organizations and popular habits which existed before the customs and laws crystallized, and in every other way supply abundant material, likely to be lost by general neglect, for the minute study of our history in future years.

The constitution of the association and other information will be found in the "Report of Organization and Proceedings."

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY :

Dear Sir: The valuable article by Mr. J. H. Kennedy in the September number, on the "Early Marine Interests," has yet a few mistakes, which the compiler has been led to give from the errors of others.

Whatever the extent of Captain Job Fish's aversion to the storms and rough seas of Lake Erie, it is quite a mistake to say that "He resigned command on the occasion of his first severe gale, on his third or fourth trip." The steamboat *Walk-in-the-Water* came out in August, 1818, and is understood to have made, under Captain Fish, six or seven trips to Detroit that season. Captain Fish was certainly master of that vessel in the month of May of the following year, 1819. Captain John Davis was in command in the month of July, and Captain Jedediah Rogers in September of that year. It is an error also to say that Captain Miller was in command of the *Walk-in-the-Water* when she went ashore in the fall of 1851. Captain Rogers was in command. William T. Miller held the position of pilot.

I am disposed to ask, what has the claim of the cut on page 450 to authenticity as a true representation of the old steamboat? As Mr. George Williams was on board of her, on both lake and land, will he please to give us his recollection of her appearance, compared with this picture?

Yours, etc.,

HENRY H. HURLBUT.

CHICAGO, November 11, 1885.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY :

The board of trade room was pretty well filled with ladies and gentlemen on the occasion of the meeting of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical society, November 13. President Thurman was present but did not preside, Vice-President Thompson of Westerville being called to the chair. Secretary Graham announced that since the last meeting he had succeeded in increasing the membership from 164 to 192, the accessions numbering 28. He also read a list of the relics donated and otherwise se-

cured since the last meeting, some of which are very interesting and valuable specimens.

Secretary Graham also announced the death, since the last meeting, of Judge Henry B. Curtis of Mt. Vernon, first vice-president of the society. On the motion of Hon. M. A. Daugherty, Hon. John W. Andrews, Judge Thurman and the mover were appointed to prepare a minute on the death of Judge Curtis. Mr. Daugherty subsequently read a tribute to the memory of the deceased, who was one of the two oldest members of the bar in Ohio, and who died at the ripe old age of eighty-six years, after a life of dignity and great usefulness. The resolution was ordered to be placed among the records of the society.

Professor W. H. Venable of Cincinnati, was then introduced and spoke for an hour on the "Early Intellectual Achievements of the Ohio Valley." The address was interesting as a review of intellectual development in the Ohio valley prior to 1829. In speaking of the advantages bequeathed to the northwest territory by the government handed down by the old continental congress, he said it was blessed above all other commonwealths in the east, for in all its history no witch was hanged, no Quaker suffered for conscience sake and no black slave was ever shackled. Education in the Ohio valley was hard to acquire between 1780 and 1800. Libraries were scarce and meagre. Many preachers had no complete copy of the Bible. At Lexington, Kentucky, the second building erected was a school-house. The speaker traced the growth of literature and education in the valley, noting the founding of the Kentucky Gazette, in 1787, followed by the almanac, the grammar school and the Transylvania seminary, in 1798, where the great political leaders used to go. The endowing by congress of the Great Western National university, afterward known as Ohio university, at Athens, was referred to, and the establishing of the celebrated coon skin library about 1811, Oxford university in 1809, etc.

The debating societies of the early pioneer days, when political affairs were discussed by everybody, were described, as well as the beneficial results to the people therefrom. In 1812 there were only seventeen

newspapers in Kentucky, fourteen in Ohio, and six in Tennessee. The first magazine was established at Lexington by William Gibb Hunt, in 1819, when there was great rivalry for literary pre-eminence between Lexington and Cincinnati, which assumed the title of Athens of the West, and, in 1824, John P. Foote established the *Cincinnati Literary Gazette*. The woods were full of poets in those times, and the works of the great poets were much read. The above is the merest outline of what was an intensely interesting lecture on a subject too little known.

To the Editor of THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

De Saussaye, the French officer killed near Fort Cumberland, in 1757, signed his name "Dagneaux de la Saussaye" to the minute of a conference with the Six Nations, at Quebec, on the second of November, 1748.

ISAAC CRAIG.

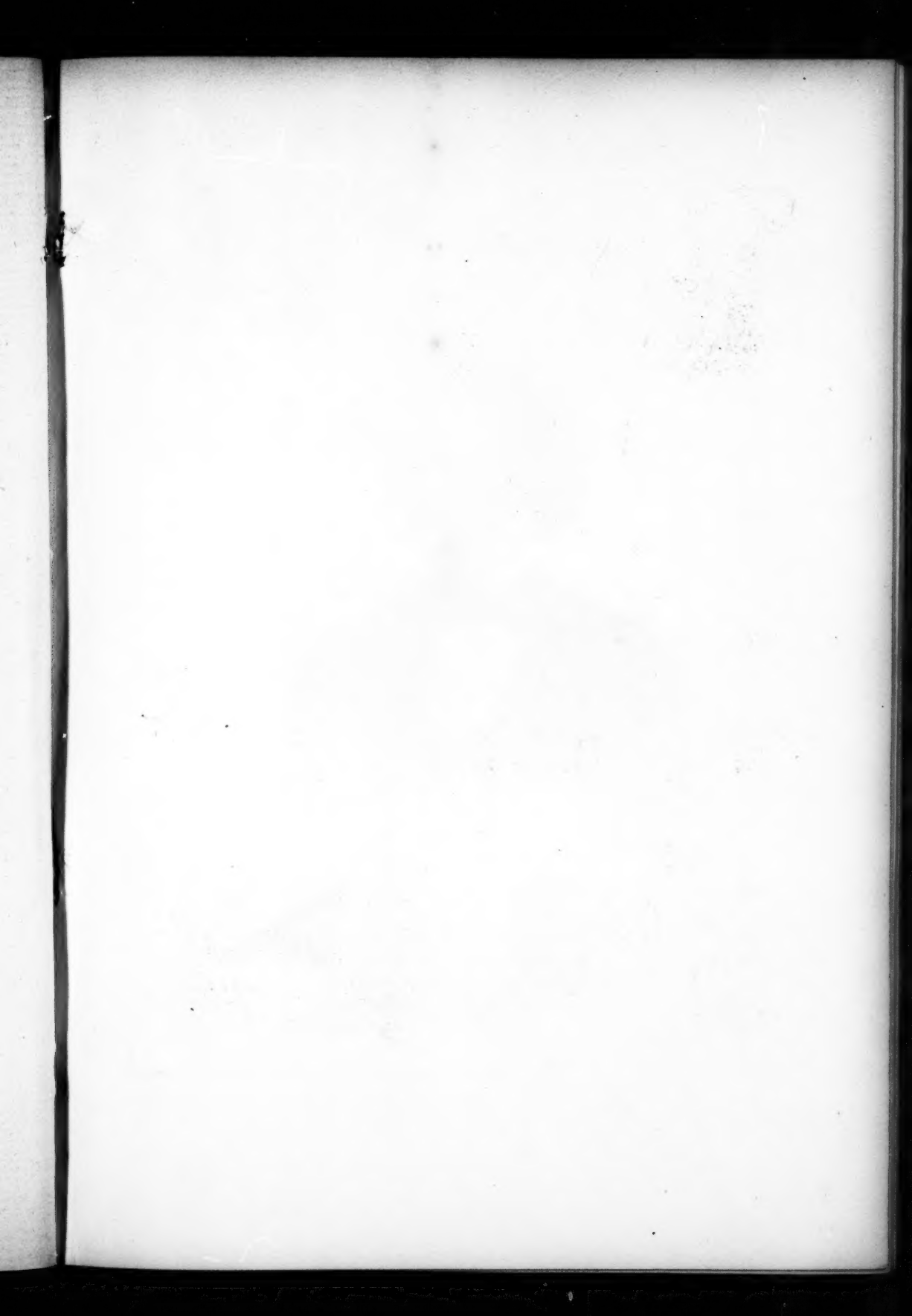
CORRECTION.—The date of the marriage of Daniel Agnew with Miss Moore was wrongly given on page 70 of the November number of this Magazine. The correct date is July 4, 1831.

REVIEW.

'MICHIGAN: A HISTORY OF GOVERNMENTS.' By Thomas McIntyre Cooley (American Commonwealths, Horace E. Schudder, editor). Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1885. Price \$1.25.

No one of the American Commonwealths' series thus far published has a higher claim upon our admiration than Mr. Cooley's excellent little volume. The early history covering a field that has been frequently traversed by other historians is treated with are good judgment in the choice of the points of

chief interest. Sound opinions on questions of finance are rendered in describing the era of speculation and wildcat banking. With all constitutional questions the closest familiarity and clearest understanding are evinced. The marked attention which the state of Michigan has given to education is brought to the reader's notice in the strongest possible way. The publishers of this series are making a valuable addition to the historical literature of the country by the publication of these State histories.





McCoy, Jr. & Co.

L. C. Hoyle

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